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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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9 FEBRUARY 1987

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM ENCOURAGED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 6 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by correspondent He Yulin [0149 3769 2651]: "Famous Economist Xiong Yingwu Says Marxism Will Have to Undergo Significant Development"]

[Text] At yesterday's All-China Conference on Philosophy and Social Sciences During the 7th 5-Year Plan, the famous economist and vice president of Heilongjiang University Xiong Yingwu [3574 2503 2745] pointed out that Marxism will have to undergo significant development in the contemporary era, but that development of Marxism is not an affair to be accomplished by a limited few, or by the top leadership, but that each single Marxist has the right and also the ability to develop Marxism. Development of Marxism is a responsibility that must not be evaded "by us workers in the field of social sciences."

Xiong Yingwu said that the development of Marxism is not confined to its nonfundamental tenets, but that certain fundamental tenets must also be developed.

He also said that Marxism must be developed in debate and by adopting the good points "in a hundred schools of thought." Marxism must recognize various schools of thought and engage in a debate on equal terms, must also accept the strong points of non-Marxist schools, and must, moreover, derive nourishment from the natural sciences. He emphatically pointed out that the principle of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" is not asserting one school as bearer of the truth and judge over other schools of thought, but rather signifies that persons with truth in different areas should learn from each other by exchanging views, consult each other, and explore together with each other.

Xiong Yingwu's speech was brief and to the point and was welcomed by all attending the conference.

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WANG RUOSHUI ON MARXISM, HUMANISM

Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 8 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by correspondent Lu Liejia [7120 0441 0502]: "A Man With the Courage to Revise and Stand Firm on His Individual Viewpoint; An Interview With Philosopher Wang Ruoshui"]

[Text] In October of this year, when the All-China Symposium on the Theory of Comprehensive Reform was being held at Maanshan, I discovered in the long list of delegates the name of Wang Ruoshui and took the opportunity to interview him. Some foreign theorists call him "a philosopher with his own ideas on Marxism." I first asked him to give an assessment of himself.

"Because I have different ideas on theory, some think I am not a good Marxist or an anti-Marxist, but I myself believe I am a Marxist. I propose an opened-up Marxism, that there should be several schools within Marxism, and I don't agree with the formulation 'defense of the purity of Marxism'." He then changed the flow of thought and began to speak of some ideas regarding upholding and developing Marxism: "If we want to uphold and develop Marxism, we must first of all completely and accurately understand Marxism. Some years ago, the CPC Central Committee put forward the demand for a complete and accurate understanding of Mao Zedong Thought. That was absolutely correct. We must take the same attitude toward Marxism. Second, we must go back to Marx, develop the points of germination in Marxism. There are things today that constitute a retreat from Marxism, that are not being treated as penetratingly as Marx did, for instance the topic of 'philosophy of man', which comprises humanism. This retreat is mainly due to Soviet influence. During Lenin's lifetime, many important manuscripts written by Marx had not yet been discovered. Later, Stalin gave these matters little attention, but to us, who are now engaged in a modernization project, the 'philosophy of man' is a matter of particular and extreme importance. Moreover, Marxism is also demanding modernization. Society has advanced and engendered many new situations and problems, how can Marxism go on without further development?"

Although Comrade Wang Ruoshui is almost 60, his mind is clear and he shows the special quality of a philosopher. He is renowned in academic circles for his study of humanism and the theory of alienation. Early in the 1960's, Wang Ruoshui participated in a writing group headed by Comrade Zhou Yang [0719 2254], planning a book in criticism of humanism. The interesting thing is

that his research for a criticism resulted in a 180 degree turnabout in his attitude toward humanism. Was this due to the fact that in his diligent and untiring theoretical studies he had found the true essence of Marxism, or due to an awakening caused by the inhumane cruelties of the "cultural revolution," or perhaps by both these factors? One thing is certain, he will not easily change the theoretical viewpoint at which he has arrived. Just because of this, 2 years ago, when he was publicly censured and severely criticized by certain people, he steadfastly refused to write a self-criticism and to abandon his scholarly viewpoint. He also did not remain silent. He told us that the People's Publishing House recently collected his writings from the last few years on humanism and published them in an issue of 30,000 copies. The publication is entitled "Apology for Humanism." It appeared recently in the book market and was selling extremely well.

During the conversation, Wang Ruoshui explained his ideas on humanism. He said: "Some believe humanism to have two meanings, one is a world view, and one is in the area of ethics. I believe that humanism is a view concerned with the value of man. The core of humanism is the value of man. Without it there is no humanism." He furthermore pointed out: "Emphasis on the value of man is common to both bourgeois humanism and socialist humanism. The difference is that the bourgeoisie directs its main attack against feudalism when it advocates freedom, equality, and universal love. In our case, we not only oppose feudalism but also the conditions of alienation in the capitalist society. More importantly, bourgeois humanism has an abstract understanding of man and makes out the capitalist system as eternal, rational, and suited to human nature. The socialist humanism is precisely not summarizing all social questions as questions of ethics but as questions of the system. Point of departure for socialist humanism is therefore reform and revolution, to eradicate by these means the various abuses that exist in the system, and to attain human self-perfection and self-fulfillment, and raise human quality. Resolving the problem of the system requires more than doing good deed in little bits and pieces."

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PSYCHOLOGY TOWARD FOREIGNERS DISCUSSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by Mi Bohua [4717 0590 5478]: "'Psychology of Closing the Country' Discussed"]

[Excerpt] In my opinion, importing a production line for color TV and translating the works of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer "for criticism only" still may not be considered a success of opening the country to the outside world. As Lu Xun said: "We have new skill but old ideas." In comparison, opening the mind is more difficult than freeing the hand. Although a person is familiar with the use of a "computer," he may still find it "fantastic." After all, his mind is restricted by the deep structure of traditional Chinese culture.

That is why while the policy of closing the country is under strong attack, the psychology behind it remains undisturbed. Nevertheless, this policy will eventually lead to chaos and then the collapse of this deep structure.

Let me cite one example.

When I visited a certain famous sightseeing spot, I was notified that "today, we are receiving foreign guests, and Chinese people are not permitted to enter," lest it would spoil the foreign guests' fun. I wonder whether Chinese people visiting "Disneyland" in the United States would drive away American people, and whether Chinese people visiting "Jin Temple" would produce the same effect. In the United States, the Americans are not driven away, but in China, Chinese people have actually been driven away several times. "Chinese and dogs not allowed" was a humiliation to Chinese people in the days of colonial rule. Now, worshipping foreigners and looking down on our own people means self-humiliation. Such remarks are quite often heard, but apparently the problem has not been solved. The reason is that the problem of ideology still exists, and the "foreign settlement" culture is still popular.

Chinese always called aliens by two different names, namely, beasts and saints, but never greeted them as friends or treated them as equals. This was probably what Lu Xun said, but still does not seem to be out-dated. However, the way of calling has changed--it is either foreign devils or His Foreign Excellency--although the meaning remains the same. A careful consideration would lead to two diametrically opposite conclusions. It is

like the two sides of a coin reflecting certain deep-seated inferiority complex in Chinese people's psychology.

If you observe carefully, you will notice a queer phenomenon with typical Chinese characteristics. Next to my house is a university. Foreign students and Chinese students live in different dormitories facing each other at a long distance. These dormitories are separated by a wall of the forbidden-city type. The foreign students' dormitory is at least a quasi-luxurious mansion, with murals, carved pillars, green patches, and "specially provided" meals. The Chinese students' dormitory, though not exactly a dangerous building, has no attraction whatsoever, and the inmates eat seasoned meat paste noodles five times every 6 days. Chinese people are poor and therefore have to suffer; this much we have to admit. However, I fail to understand the meaning of the high wall. It is ironical that, according to what I have heard, the foreign students living in their luxurious mansion have insisted on moving into the Chinese dormitory, because they too are human, and want to talk to people of another race. They seem to be unappreciative of the special favors to them. However, nobody can deny that Chinese students studying abroad are not "taken care of" to the same extent. Nobody knows who set up this system. Probably, it is the outcome of a common psychology. On this point, both Beijing and Shanghai tacitly agreed.

One theoretical basis of this system is the culture of "precaution against foreigners," because "aliens must have ulterior motives." This is the kind of natural ill-feeling Chinese people have toward foreigners. It is therefore not difficult to understand the real reason why, for a long time, "overseas connections," which are associated with a purely "my uncle is in foreign land" concept, has been exaggerated as a jargon for quasi-contradiction between the enemy and ourselves--jargon of a purely political nature. Why is it difficult for China to be opened to the outside world? Simply because of the undue excitement over this idea of dealing with an enemy--the idea which weakens the driving force for cultural exchange. Another theoretical basis originates from the philosophy of "weak people." Chinese people are particularly keen about high or low social status and cannot get rid of their ideas about "status" and "race." In the Qing dynasty at least, the "Manchurians" and "foreigners" were as a rule greeted as "Your Excellency." In the opinion of Chinese people, the difference between them and the ordinary people or the servants is like between human beings and dogs. Actually, this is an instance of the "courtesy should not be extended to common people" culture exaggerated to the extent that even foreigners are involved. That is why Chinese people have to take great pains in serving foreigners and dare not take them as friends on an equal footing. They at first fear foreigners who are "beasts" and later feel inferior to the "saints." There is only one way out, namely, "keeping them at a respectful distance," and the most effective way to do so is to close the doors, lock them up, and hold the breath in trepidation.

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SU SHAOZHI ANALYZES CPC 6TH PLENUM 'RESOLUTION'

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Oct 86 p 4

[Article by Su Shaozhi [5685 4801 2535], director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: "Guiding Principles in the Development of Marxism"]

[Text] The "CPC Central Committee Resolution on Guiding Principles for Development of Socialist Spiritual Civilization," passed at the 6th Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee, is a programmatic document of Marxism. If we accept "taking economic construction as the key link" as our main tenet in the development of socialist spiritual civilization, then Marxism must guide the fundamental spirit in which we implement the entire "Resolution."

The "Resolution" emphasizes at the start that "socialist spiritual civilization guided by Marxism is the major characteristic of a socialist society." The various aspects of socialist spiritual civilization referred to in the "Resolution" are all to be given Marxist interpretations, and in Chapter 7 it is particularly stated that "Marxism is to serve as guide in the development of spiritual civilization."

The "Resolution" points out: "As the scientific world outlook of the working class and one of the great achievements of spiritual civilization of all mankind, Marxism is the theoretical basis of socialism and of the leadership given by the party. It is the most important component of socialist ideology and will serve as a guide in all our work to build a socialist spiritual civilization." The "Resolution" not only emphasizes the importance of Marxism but demands that Marxism be developed further under the new conditions now prevailing in China, while the "Resolution," furthermore, presents important ideas on the further development of Marxism.

Only through further development can Marxism continue to serve as a guide. This proposition has been amply proven correct by the success of the Chinese revolution and by the Chinese reality since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

However, not every comrade realizes that the success of the Chinese revolution resulted from counteracting dogmatism, breaking with ossified views, and the creative development of Marxism. Under the pretext of protecting the purity

of Marxism, some people have repeatedly assumed a doctrinaire attitude toward Marxism, and have turned Marxism, an ideology that was to liberate mankind and serve as guide for action, into an ossified dogma and into spiritual shackles which confine people's thinking. If treated in a doctrinaire manner, Marxism is not only unable to function as a positive guide, but, on the contrary, will lead to serious mistakes. We need not refer to anything remote, the serious mistakes that our party committed for a long time, just after basically completing China's socialist transformation, are definitely due to that mistaken attitude.

The 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee proposed the liberation of people's ways of thinking, upholding a realistic ideological line, and applying and developing Marxism in a creative manner. If we will only courageously break through and expand certain important specific conclusions of Marxism-Leninism, break with a series of ossified concepts of socialism, break with the traditional Soviet and Chinese patterns, we shall indeed make major progress toward creating order out of chaos, toward a comprehensive reform, and toward building a material and socialist spiritual civilization. This fact too is not yet fully realized by everyone. Dogmatism, ossified concepts, and traditional patterns still remain obstacles to our reform, to opening up the country, and to modernization. Resolute discussion of the necessity of developing Marxism is, in itself, of major significance as our guide.

First, we must clearly realize that Marxism is not a dogma, but an ideological system that is fully alive; it will go on forever, as it will develop in tune with the developments of the time. Marx himself summarized experiences of contemporary class struggle under the special historical conditions of his days. He absorbed all valuable knowledge of his time to the widest extent and transformed this knowledge by synthesizing, summarizing, enriching and revolutionizing it, in order to be able to respond to the new problems posed by social development. It is in this way that he established Marxism. In all his lifelong undertaking, Marx never intended to turn Marxism into a sacred book, and even less to create a kind of historical philosophy; he rather kept studying and absorbing new scientific achievements to discover the intrinsic laws of social development. The vitality of Marxism, therefore, derives nourishment from ever-developing practice. Marxism moves forward and never stagnates. If it were to stop, if it were merely to repeat the same old stuff, it would be bereft of all vitality.

Second, in order to clarify the relationship between upholding Marxism and developing Marxism, the "Resolution" points out: "We must proceed from reality, make practice the sole criterion for verifying truth, and show courage in discarding all those judgements and conclusions that have proven wrong in actual practice or out of step with changing realities. We must not use ossified concepts to interpret life, it will then be possible for Marxism to keep abreast of social change and serve to guide it. That is the way both to uphold Marxism and to develop it, the two being integrated in our practice of revolution and construction. It would be impossible to uphold Marxism if we rejected the viewpoints of practice, development, and creativeness."

In other words, while we uphold Marxism we must also develop it, and while we develop it we must uphold it. To uphold Marxism while at the same time pointing to the need for its development is no deviation from the universal principles of Marxism; it was actually the point of departure and method expressed by Engels, the general guiding principle of Lenin, or the stand, viewpoint, and method of the CPC. To this part we must further add supplements required as modern science develops. We must, furthermore, derive specific principles and conclusions from an application of the universal principles to specific realities. This is a part which, generally speaking, changes at different times, in different places, and under different conditions. It is this part that we refer to when we speak of development; it is nothing else than applying the universal principles to conditions in today's world, to the realities of China, to the study of new circumstances, to the solution of new problems, and to new conclusions. The consequence of all this is the development of Marxism. After having been developed in this way, Marxism must be used to serve as guide in the new reality and under the new historical conditions. In this way, as the cycle repeats itself in the wake of social developments, Marxism itself will undergo development. Conversely, if we take a dogmatic attitude toward Marxism and divorce ourselves from reality, we shall not be able to respond to the questions posed by the masses or to dispel their distrust; we will be slighted by life and by the masses. Since theoretical education and propaganda in China was for many years under the influence of dogmatism, a short time will not suffice to overcome all evil influences that have been engendered in the past and that oppose reform, opening up, and modernization. Judging by the present state of affairs in China, the major precondition for upholding Marxism today is, therefore, its further development.

Third, development of Marxism requires courage to effect breakthroughs. The "Resolution" points out that "abandoning a series of ossified concepts and raising understanding of socialism to a new height" is the first point in the main current of our great progress since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Development of Marxism must start out from the new circumstances, new economic factors, and new problems, that prevail today in the economy, politics, culture, and society of the world and of China. We must reconsider and reevaluate particular tenets and conclusions in the classical writings of Marxism and in what we generally know as Marxism. We must explore what is still valid, what is outdated, and what new conclusions must be reached.

The second point is that we must be adept at summing up the successful and unsuccessful experiences in the communist world movement and draw lessons from them by seeking truth from facts. We must not hide facts that implicate relatives or those of the older generation, and thus keep silent on major transgressions while only dwelling on minor ones. We must not paint up our failures as big successes. We must not try to appropriate to ourselves undeserved reputation and thereby bring well-deserved calamity on us. One of the characteristics of Marxism is its critical nature. However, in the past we applied this weapon only against enemies. Criticism of the mistakes of our own camp is necessary, but is not practiced to a sufficient measure. It is important that Marxists have the courage to engage in self-criticism, and that they will develop what is useful and discard what is not; only then will they

be able to march forward with a light pack on their shoulders and achieve growth with each passing day.

The third point is that we must be adept at absorbing and generalizing the latest achievements in all branches of scientific development. This includes the natural sciences, new scientific research methods and new fields of knowledge in the world of nature, such as higher mathematics, systems theory, information theory, control theory, and dissipative structure theory. It also comprises philosophy and the social sciences. We must of course absorb the research achievements of proletarian theorists in philosophy and social sciences. This fact will easily be accepted by everyone. Problematic are only the research achievements in philosophy and social sciences by bourgeois scholars; should we also study and critically absorb and generalize the rational parts of their achievements? The answer has to be yes. Refusing to understand and to study them, to lightly reject them, or even criticize them without properly understanding what they are talking about, is not a scientific attitude and can only cause us to remain out of touch with reality and in a state of complete ignorance. The "Resolution" points out: "Opening to the outside world as our basic unalterable state policy is not only conducive to the development of our material civilization, but also to the development of our spiritual civilization." This is of positive significance as it will liberate us from the prevailing attitude among Chinese scholars and theorists of "going it alone in the revolution in complete self-reliance," of being ludicrously conceited "like the king of Yelang," and of closing the country to all international intercourse. The attitude of the "Resolution" will rather promote modernization of our philosophical and social science research and the modernization of our ways of thinking.

The fourth point is that development of Marxism must entail the resolute implementation of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." The "Resolution" points out: "We must resolutely implement the policy of 'letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend.' We must encourage and support all bold explorative efforts and free debates that are based on scientific research, in order to greatly invigorate research on Marxist theory, and base our policy-making process on a more democratic and scientific foundation."

Cultural despotism, which is the opposite of the above-stated attitude, is the archenemy of development, also the archenemy of the development of Marxism. Prior to 1956, especially before 1953, the fact that Stalin was the only authority for the interpretation of Marxism and the only judge in academic debates in the field of science, brought on stagnation in certain issues of Marxism and caused major mistakes to be committed by parties of various countries over long periods of time. In China, the "cultural revolution" practiced "full-scale dictatorship" under the signboard of Marxism, including a cultural despotism which led to disaster and greatly lowered the prestige of Marxism. The 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee restored the Marxist ideological line, also restored the "double hundred" policy, and the resulting main current of social development was good. The "Resolution" points out: "Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, following the successful restoration of order out of chaos and the launching of all-out reform, also following the development of our material civilization, important

progress has been achieved in the development of socialist spiritual civilization." The prestige of Marxism was gradually restored, and there was a start made in the gradual development of Marxism.

The prerequisite to accurate implementation of the "double hundred" policy is the genuine realization of political democracy and freedom, as provided for in China's Constitution. Moreover, Article 2 of the Constitution provides: "All power in the PRC belongs to the people." Article 35 provides: "Citizens of the PRC enjoy freedom of speech, of publication, of assembly, of association, of procession, and of demonstrations." Article 38 provides: "The personal dignity of citizens of the PRC is inviolable. Insult, libel, false charge or frame-up directed against citizens by any means is prohibited." With these political guarantees, the freedoms of academic pursuit, creative pursuit, free discussion, criticism and countercriticism, mentioned in the "Resolution," are ensured. In his recent speech at the All-China Symposium on Soft Science, Vice Premier Wan Li clearly pointed out: "The 'double hundred' policy must also be applied to political issues and to the study of policy decisions." Furthermore, a commentator of the RENMIN RIBAO stated very clearly: "Political questions may also be the topic of discussions." This breaks down forbidden zones and reveals today's excellent atmosphere of democracy, equality, and consultation; it opens up excellent prospects for the development of Marxism.

China's leadership and masses should cherish this excellent environment and courageously engage in explorations, on the principle of free debate and observance of the provisions of the Constitution. The leadership should do so even more intensively and set examples by joining the debates as equal members of the group. They should completely eradicate the influences of cultural despotism of past year, never set themselves up as judges, never arrive lightly at conclusions in academic issues, never out of sheer subjectivism criticize what they believe to be mistaken propositions, also never out of subjectivism assert or praise what they consider correct propositions. Making political decisions in academic issues has never led to good results, and is, of course, also detrimental to the upholding or developing of Marxism.

To sum up, the "Resolution" clearly and accurately sets forth the principled stand of Marxism, and that it is the task of China's Marxist theorists to develop the guiding principles of Marxism. The "Resolution" is opening up new avenues for the development of Marxism in China, as it also fully asserts the role of Marxism in China's modernization projects.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

TOLERANCE OF UNORTHODOX VIEWS DISCUSSED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by Zheng Hong [6774 3163]: "New Theory on 'Heresy'"]

[Text] "Heresy" has always been associated with "fallacy." It is a terrible word.

In the 9th Century, Pope Gregory IX started the "Inquisition," and the scientists propagating unorthodox ideas or doctrines were tortured, exiled, or burned at the stake. Bruno, an Italian philosopher, spread Copernicus' heliocentric theory, which jeopardized God's dominant position as the master on earth. He died at the stake in the square of Rome.

It is interesting that Bruno was exonerated by Pope John Paul II in recent years [as published]. Though somewhat ridiculous, this incident provided a source of enlightenment. With the march of time, even God's spokesman could not help but admit that heresy does not necessarily mean fallacy.

Heresy is relative to orthodoxy. Today's orthodoxy may have been yesterday's heresy, and today's heresy may become tomorrow's orthodoxy. Based on an analysis of the situation at home and abroad in 1917, Lenin stated that to get out of the existing situation, victory for socialism should be first won in Russia. This was contrary to the conclusion of Marx and Engels that victory for socialism could not be won in one country alone. At that time, many authorities in the Marxist camp considered Lenin's idea unorthodox and rose to join the attack on him. Plekhanov contemptuously said that Lenin "talked in dream" and some people even said that Lenin was "crazy." After the victory of the October Revolution, however, Lenin's "heresy" naturally became orthodox Marxism and was vindicated in history, while those who had attacked his "heresy" were caught in the quagmire, not originally intended for them.

Now some people are attacking "heresy" under the prestigious banner of defending the purity of Marxism. No matter whether their motive is to defend the purity of Marxism or to defend their own orthodox position, they can only seal up Marxism, and obstruct or prevent its development. Marx said: "All developments, regardless of their contents, can be viewed as a series of developing stages, and their relationship takes the form of one negating the other. ...In ethical terms, negating means rejecting." ("Selected Works of

Marx and Engels" Vol 1, p 169) If we use traditional dogma and traditional moral standards to judge living realities, and accuse people of heresy at will, can Marxism be developed?

Naturally, heresy can be the sprout of a new life as well as a specter wearing modern clothes. Sometimes, it can be entirely wrong. That is why it must be carefully analyzed. However, before we can decide whether it is right or wrong, we should be a little prudent. In other words, we should be more tolerant of unorthodox views. The test of time is far superior to individual judgement.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HU YAOCHENG ON 'REFLECTIONS' ON QUESTION OF FREEDOM

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 7 Nov 86 p 2

[Article by Yu Haocheng [0060 3185 2052]: "Two Concepts of Freedom Which Cannot Be Confused; Wu Jianguo's Article "'Reflections' on the Question of Freedom" Discussed"]

[Text] Abstract: Political freedom refers to the degree of freedom permitted by society to individuals. It is basically man-made and cannot be confused with the concept of freedom based on the theory of knowledge.

The freedom enjoyed by people has continued to increase along with the development of human society. A socialist society should provide individuals with more and greater freedom; otherwise, how can the superiority of socialism be demonstrated?

If some people advocating anarchism demand absolute freedom that is not subject to any restriction, it would be very wrong to call their thinking and action "bourgeois liberalization."

The Wu article stressed that collectives are the means and conditions for individuals' all-around development and freedom. However, can we overlook another aspect--the development of each individual's freedom as the condition for the development of all people?

Comrade Wu Jianguo's [0702 1696 0908] article "'Reflections' on the Question of Freedom" was carried in HONGQI No 17, 1986. After reading this article, I have some different views and would like to present them for discussion with Comrade Wu Jianguo.

1. Although Comrade Wu Jianguo's "'Reflections' on the Question of Freedom" (hereinafter abbreviated as "the Wu article") mentioned the "specific stipulations on the relative independence of political freedom," the different concepts of political freedom (social freedom) and philosophical freedom (based on the theory of knowledge) were confused in the description of the relationship between political freedom and the freedom based on the theory of knowledge, which are interconnected and can seep into and run through each other. The article held that "if we deviate from the materialistic ideological line and the path of objective truth, then, we cannot under any

condition avoid that lack of freedom as a result." In other words, if a person does not have a Marxist world outlook and has not learned to use the stand, viewpoint and methods of Marxism to observe and analyze problems, there can be no creative freedom, academic freedom, democratic rights, and so forth, to speak of, while those who know more about truth will enjoy greater freedom. This view is obviously one-sided. Political freedom, also called social freedom, is determined by the relationships among people and between people and society, and refers to the degree of individual freedom permitted by the society. It is basically man-made. For example, if a citizen enjoys the freedom of marriage in a capitalist or a socialist society, he can decide on his own marriage and whom to marry. In a feudal society, however, people do not have this freedom, because marriage is exclusively arranged by the parents whose orders must be obeyed. According to Comrade Wu Jianguo's statement, parents could intervene in the son's or daughter's marriage under the pretext that the son or daughter, not knowing the objective laws, could not distinguish the good from the bad and therefore should not make their own choice. Again, even though a literary man has obtained the freedom of creation, he cannot as a rule be free enough to let his artistic ideas run wild; he must abide by the objective laws of daily lives and arts before he can produce good works. However, if his choice of subject and the way of presentation meet with gross interference even though he abides by these objective laws, he still cannot freely make full use of his own creative talents. (This point was dealt with by Comrade Wang Ruoshui [3769 5387 3055] in his article "Literary Freedom and Free Literature" not long ago.) We must understand that although some features of political freedom are the same as those of the freedom based on the theory of knowledge (such as the age of marriage stipulated by law which reflects the natural law of human maturity), political freedom is basically man-made, while the freedom based on the theory of knowledge is a matter of grasping and applying the objective laws. The two must not be confused. In the history of science of mankind, Copernicus, Galileo, and Bruno knew some scientific truth. However, because they live in the medieval dark ages, they could not enjoy any freedom and were brutally persecuted. Bruno was even condemned by the Inquisition to die at the stake in the square of Rome.

2. Now let us talk about political freedom. People are enjoying greater freedom along with the development of human society. Although there was no class oppression or exploitation in a primitive society, people still lived in great hardship because it was not very long after the end of their status as animals. Their lives were entirely spent in the struggle for survival. The individual's submission and subordination to the collective were very essential, and, therefore, individual freedom was very little. Later, in the slave society, prisoners of war were no longer killed. Instead, they continued to live as slaves. This represented a big step forward in the primitive society. However, slaves were like beasts of burden and practically enjoyed no freedom whatsoever. By the time of feudal society, peasants acquired their semi-independent status. While plowing his own land with certain freedom on the one hand, they were subordinated to the feudal landlords on the other hand. They suffered political oppression from the feudal landlords and were subjected to the fetters of political rights, divine rights, clan rights (and husband rights among women), with very little freedom to speak of. The bourgeois democratic revolution, with democracy, freedom,

and equality as its goals, liberated people from the political oppression by the feudal landlords. People then acquired their independent status and were free, at least in name. However, there was inequality in property, and except for part of the bourgeoisie which enjoyed fairly ample political freedom, the proletariat and the broad masses of people could have only limited, incomplete and only nominal freedom. Let us take publication freedom for example. In name, this freedom belongs to every citizen. Since, however, only the capitalists could own the tools of publication and the paper, the publication freedom could actually be enjoyed by the bourgeoisie only, while the proletariat and the broad masses could have little or none of it. In theory, people can enjoy greater freedom in a socialist than in a capitalist society. However, a big gap is still left between reality and theory in real life. The Wu article, on the one hand, attributes this situation to disastrous consequences of the violation of socialist principles and, for this reason, stresses the need for reform. This is a correct view. On the other hand, the article blames it on the still unsolved problems of starting point and standpoint among some people who feel the loss of freedom resulting from certain personal sacrifice made in the interests of the collective. This is a reversal of cause and result. People cannot help but ask: Is individual freedom likewise restricted in bourgeois society? If the socialist society cannot give people more and greater freedom, then how will it demonstrate its superiority? It must be pointed out that even bourgeois society has its legal system and discipline to maintain social stability. For a long time, we have taken the one-sided view that if some people advocating anarchism demand absolute freedom that is not subject to any restriction, his thinking and action are called "bourgeois liberalization." This is actually very wrong, because it can easily turn democracy and freedom into invideous terms associated with bourgeoisie, and may give the impression that we, the proletarians and communists want only dictatorship and discipline instead of democracy and freedom. It will distort our image among the broad masses at home and in the world. According to the Wu article, we, on the one hand, should treat democracy of a high degree as one of the goals of our struggle, and, on the other hand, a socialist society cannot permit more and greater individual freedom. Is not this self-contradictory? If such is the case, why should people struggle for a higher degree of democracy?

3. Now about freedom as a philosophical concept, or the freedom based on the theory of knowledge. Freedom means the understanding of necessity, and people's understanding of necessity cannot be completed after a single attempt; it can only be gradually deepened. This process will continue and never end. As Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The history of mankind is one of continuous development from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This process is never-ending. (See RENMIN RIBAO 31 Dec 64)

As for the political concept of freedom, each individual can enjoy maximum freedom only in a communist society, because since the beginning of mankind, each social member must form his social relationship with another social member through division of labor. "Division of labor is a convenient and useful means for creating social wealth. It is a good way to use manpower, but causes the degeneration of individual ability." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 42, p 148) Division of labor results in the incomplete development of individuals, and its development produces contradictions

between individual interests and the common interests of the whole society. When productive forces have not been fully developed, the division of labor can only lead to the birth of private ownership. That is, only a small number of people can possess the means of production and participate in the control of labor. As for the laborers who do not have the means of production and are under their control, this division of labor is spontaneous in character. Marx and Engels said: "Division of labor and private ownership have the same meaning and refer to the same thing. One refers to the activities; the other refers to the products of these activities." "The division of labor offers us the first example of how, as long as man remains in natural society, that is, as long as a cleavage exists between the particular and the common interest, and, therefore, as long as activity is not voluntarily, but naturally divided, man's own deed becomes an alien power opposed to him, which enslaves him instead of being controlled by him." After exposing the contradiction between the productive forces and the social conditions (relations of production) or ideology (social ideology), they further pointed out: In order that there will be no contradiction between them, we must eliminate the division of labor, that is, realize communism. The reason is that in a communist society with highly developed productive forces, "nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes. Society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, I can criticize after dinner, just as I have a mind to, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, shepherd or critic." "In communist society, there are no purely professional painters. There are only people who take painting as one of their many activities." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 3 p 3, 460) This is the realization of the Marxist theory on the all-around development of individuals in what they called "the association which will replace the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, and in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1, p 273) "The fictitious collectives formed of individuals in the past as a rule became independent and set themselves against the individuals... In a true collective, the individuals are united and obtain their freedom through their unity." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1, p 82) Only in communist society can people truly become the masters of society, and can the social laws be mastered by people as their conscious action. Engels made these famous remarks: "The laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with man as laws of nature foreign to and dominating him, will then be used with full understanding, and so mastered by him. Man's own social organization, hitherto confronting him as a necessity imposed by nature and history, now becomes the result of his own free action. ...It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 3, p 441)

The Wu article also mentioned that the way for mankind to obtain true "freedom" is to abolish the system of private ownership. However, it emphasized: "Collective is the means and condition for individuals to attain all-around development and freedom." This view is at least one-sided, because it omitted another side, namely, the development of individual freedom as a condition for the development of freedom for all people, and gave no reason for this omission.

In his article "On Marxist Philosophy of Man" (carried in WEN HUI BAO 17, 18 July 1986), Comrade Wang Ruoshui said: "In Marx's views, communist society is an "association of free people" in which individual interests and public interests are no longer set against each other. Instead of eliminating 'private' with 'public,' it means the 'existence of private interests within large-scale public interests; and instead of eliminating 'for myself' with 'for others,' it means 'everyone for myself' and 'myself for everyone.' Individuals cannot be separated from collectives, but are not submerged among them. Instead, they obtain freedom and assert themselves in the collectives. Collectives do not require individual self-sacrifice; on the contrary, the more individuals develop their own potential, the greater will be the advantage to the collective. The development of each person's freedom will no longer hinder, but rather facilitate the development of other people's freedom." However, the Wu article gives the impression that people are required to make sacrifices, but not encouraged to struggle for freedom and to advance toward the goal of a higher degree of democracy until communism, standing for the greatest possible freedom, is realized. This is a serious defect of the article. For this reason, the tone of the "reflections" on the question of freedom is a little too pessimistic.

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NECESSITY OF INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT DISCUSSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 5 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by Lu Huan [7120 3562]: "Self-Perfection: an Indispensable Visual Angle"]

[Excerpt] Ours is an ancient nation with its moral traditions formed in the course of historical development. Despite the many fine qualities for us to inherit, it has left behind many feudal precepts forcing the younger generation to accomplish their own moral development at the expense of their self-withering. We have emphasized collectivism for many years; this was necessary. However, because of a certain bias in portraying the lofty image of "collective," individuals have passed into oblivion amid the "yes" chorus. Born with such a cultural background, people cannot help but become "modest and meek gentlemen." They dare not say anything about individuality and can only blindly follow instructions instead of doing anything outstanding as pioneers. These ideal people, as they are so called, would be at a loss as to what to do once they lose the guidance of the "baton" or cannot hear the "Ready, go" order. As a result, the individuals will be mediocre persons and the collectives will lose its brilliance.

This depressing atmosphere has now been lifted. However, can people really assert themselves ideologically? As we can see, their ideological fetters still need to be removed.

On this question, there have always been two related and indispensable visual angles.

From the collective's visual angle, classic writers would say: "Only in the collective can there be individual freedom," and "the development of an individual is decided by the development of all others with whom the individual has direct or indirect contacts."

From the individual's visual angle, classic writers would say: "The first requisite in any part of human history is undoubtedly the existence of living individuals," and "the history of human society is from the beginning to the end the history of individual development."

In the past, people stressed the former and neglected the latter angle. In negating the self-development of individuals, they also distorted the relationship between individuals and collectives.

In fact, classical writers already said in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party": In place of the society with its classes and class antagonism, "we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." We are now in such a society. In the course of socialist development, what a lofty place the development of individual freedom occupies!

The social changes we are now experiencing mean the self-perfection of socialism. In this historical process, the society's need for individuals and the individual's adaptability to society undoubtedly require the development of individual freedom and the self-perfection of individuals. This is a dynamic process of mutual demands. Instead of passively submitting to the choice of members by the society, we should actively catch up with the society's progress and accelerate our self-perfection. Anyone failing to examine themselves, to set demands on themselves, and to perfect themselves by adopting this visual angle will be rejected by the constantly advancing society! In precisely the same sense, anyone ignoring the necessity of individual self-perfection will also lose his sense of social responsibility.

Incidentally, we confused, or even equated individual development with individualism in the past. This is obviously a mistake. If the rejection of the "collective nature" of individual development is by means genuine collectivism, the rejection of collective individualism is, likewise, not the kind of self-perfection we mean. If we adopt the two indispensable visual angles in a dialectical way, we will be able to bring up a new generation of people in the course of social changes.

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ORIGIN OF PERSONAL CONNECTION NETWORK DISCUSSED

Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 7 Nov 86 p 2

[Article by Zhu Changdan [2621 7022 0030]: "Destroy that 'Personal Connection Network' of a Feudal Hue"]

[Excerpts] The so-called "personal connection network" means a network of private relations formed specially for private gains. It has no principled stand and is harmful to the public.

Some people called this "personal connection" network in our society the outcome of opening the country to the outside work and invigorating the economy at home. This is not true for the following reasons: 1) This phenomenon already existed before opening the country to the outside world and invigorating the economy at home. 2) In an environment of flourishing commodity economy under capitalism, relative and family connections do not count much, and there can be only an undisguised money relationship between individuals. Capitalists can be said to have "disowned all relatives." A son has to pay for his meals in the father's home. If his father finds the son incapable, the father may give the son some shares of stock instead of allowing him to run the enterprise. Their relationship is different from the type of "personal connection network" in our society. Going deeper into this matter, we will see that our "personal connection network" is attributed to the following causes:

From the economic point of view, it is a special phenomenon brought about under conditions of inadequate development of commodity economy. Under a feudal system which has lasted thousands of years in China, the natural economy of self-sufficiency was in a dominant position. A natural economy is not strong enough to withstand stormy weathers, and for its survival and development, and it must try every possible way to be attached to certain bigwigs for protection and support. As an alternative, it may form certain types of leagues based on blood relationship or marriage relationship as a counter to external forces. It was precisely under such conditions that this "personal connection network" took shape.

From the political point of view, it is a derivative of special feudal rights. Feudal class system is a feature of feudal political system. The royal family, the relatives of royal family members, the aristocrats, their trusted

henchmen, and the feudal bureaucrats all enjoyed extensive political and economic privileges. To preserve their own positions of domination, they did everything possible to recruit followers, promote their henchmen, and expand their spheres of influence by forming numerous "personal connection networks." These personal connection networks, large and small, may take advantage of one and other, share their ill-gotten gains, and obstruct or compete with one another in a farce of cheating and harming one another. Today, even under socialist conditions, some cadres still consider themselves as masters instead of public servants of the people, and are seeking special privileges. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Seeking special privileges is a manifestation of the feudal remnants yet to be eliminated." Some people hope that others would be dependent on them and would always be around to do their bidding, while the others hope to make private gains by relying on some people's power and influence. That was how "personal connections networks" had the opportunity to make their appearance.

From the ideological point of view, "personal connection network" is the refugence of a fading feudal patriarchal concept. Patriarchal system was the system in ancient China for the preservation of aristocratic rule with blood relationship as its basis. Later it developed into clan rule based on clan relationship. Feudal ethics is the soul of patriarchal system, and patriarchal doctrines are the ideological tools of feudal rule. The "three cardinal guides and five constant virtues," filial piety, respect for older brothers, loyalty, and trustworthiness, were woven by feudal ethics into personal connection networks to serve as people's mental fetters. Today, feudal patriarchal concepts can still corrode people's souls. Comrade Deng Xiaoping sharply pointed out in 1980: "Let us talk about patriarchal concept. If a single person in the family became a government official during the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' his chickens and dogs would ascend to heaven; if a single person got into trouble, his relatives up to the ninth degree of relationship, would be involved. These conditions became very serious. Even now, the undesirable work style of appointing people by favoritism and factionalism has still not been corrected in some regions, departments and units. There are many instances of cadres abusing their power in arranging for their relatives to move into cities, to be employed, or to be promoted. From this, we can see that the pernicious influence of patriarchal concepts cannot be taken lightly."

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

YANG YICHEN ON STRIKING BLOWS AT ECONOMIC CRIMES

Beijing FALU YU SHENGHUO [LAW AND LIVING] in Chinese No 6, 5 Jun 86 pp 4-5, 9

[Article by special correspondent Zhang Qian [1728 6197], and staff correspondents Lu Shan [0712 1472], and Zhang Tengqing [1728 5671 7230]: "Yang Yichen, chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate Discusses Fighting Economic Crime"]

[Text] How within a year to thoroughly carry out the struggle against economic crimes and hold down economic criminals' arrogance is an issue attracting attention nationwide. Recently, correspondents interviewed Yang Yichen [2799 2496 6591], chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, on this issue.

Procurator Yang just attended the Fourth Session of the Sixth National People's Congress and was very busy with work but still found some time to answer our questions.

Procurator Yang first briefed us on the situation of investigation and prosecution of economic crimes in national procuratorial organs. He said, "Since the party Central Committee, National People's Congress, and State Council sent out the decision on striking blows at economic crimes, all levels of procuratorial organs actively make the most of their function and investigate a few cases of economic crimes. This year, the struggle against economic crimes was more effective. The national procuratorial organs placed on file 30,505 cases of economic crimes for investigation, of which 2,963 were major cases, and recovered 90,850,000 yuan of direct economic loss for the nation.

But the cases placed for investigation showed a decrease in 1983. The procuratorial organs placed on file a total of 23,516 cases nationwide. There were two causes for the appearance of this situation: First, we had slackened our efforts. Second, since the August campaign began on severely striking blows at criminal offences, procuratorial organs put most effort in combatting criminal offences and lessened efforts on prosecuting economic crimes, and we emphasized the necessity of "reading and acting the same script." Actually, it was totally necessary to do so under the circumstances of no sense of security for the masses.

In 1984, due to the unclear demarcation line between law and policy on the prosecution of economic crimes, in addition to other hindrances and interferences, many procuratorial organs would not dare handle cases boldly. Economic crimes and unhealthy tendencies evolved into serious conditions especially during the later half of 1984. With the procuratorial organs it was a situation of: "Actively handle corruption, wait and see on bribery, unable to handle speculation and profiteering." They took a wait-and-see attitude, hesitated and were at a loss of what to do. The cases of economic crimes placed on file by national procuratorial organs further decreased to 22,490 from 23,516 in 1983.

Procurator Yang then said, "In the beginning of 1985, in view of this situation, we proposed that procuratorial organs must undertake both striking blows at economic crimes and striking blows at criminal offences. In June, when public security improved and economic crimes seriously worsened, we further proposed that procuratorial organs take on striking blows at economic crimes as a major mission, yet not to slacken the efforts in striking blows at criminal offences. All procuratorial organs carried out this guideline thoroughly, strengthened procuratorial work on economics, and adjusted and strengthened their case-handling force. By starting with the investigation of major cases, 'grasping the system, and grasping it systematically,' the procuratorial organs achieved a bigger breakthrough in their work on striking blows at economic crimes. The procuratorial organs placed more than 28,000 cases of economic crimes nationwide in 1985, an increase of 29.8 percent from the previous year, including more than 6,200 major cases, an increase of more than double from the previous year. Though the total cases placed this year were still less than those of 1982, the major cases equal 84 percent of those of all three previous years. From this struggle to strike blows at economic crimes some changes surfaced: First, there was a change from a "wait-and-see," 'cannot handle,' hesitant situation to a tendency of bold investigation. Second, there was a break from many 'untouched corners,' or 'unleavened dough,' to the handling of many major cases, opening up new prospects continuously. Third, in many localities, a development from the front of some specific organ into a general war coordinated by all relevant units was noted. From the situation reflected everywhere this year, such momentum still continues to develop."

At the Fourth Session of the Sixth National People's Congress, Procurator Yang representing the Supreme People's Procuratorate proposed to suppress the economic criminals' arrogance in a year, which attracted the congress representatives' and people's concern. When this reporter asked him why he proposed it this way, Procurator Yang replied, "To put it simply, this is the objective requirement for economic construction and the restructuring of the economic system and is the wish of the masses. A good social environment is very essential if we want to actualize the 7th 5-Year Plan and to keep socialist economic development steady and well coordinated. However, various criminal activities in the economy not only cause great economic loss to our nation, collective, and people, but also corrupt cadres and the masses, corrode the body of party and nation, pollute the mood of society and cause great harm politically. The tremendous amount and serious circumstances of

some cases of economic crimes and their great harm and tricky measures were startling and seldom seen since the founding of our nation. Especially between the latter half of 1984 and the first half of 1985, when unhealthy tendencies prevailed and economic crimes were rampant, the former became a hot bed and covered up the latter. There were many big cases of economic crimes and the offenders were very arrogant."

Procurator Yang analyzed the characteristics of the economic crimes during this period, and pointed out: "The economic crimes during this period had the following traits: 1) Situations such as within colluding with without, and high and low acting in collaboration and committing crimes together are glaring; 2) in the name of various 'corporations,' 'trading companies,' and 'centers,' criminals conducted speculation and swindling by means of contracts or making false contracts; 3) certain national organs, state enterprises and collective enterprises engaged in economic crimes for the benefit of small groups or individuals; 4) some people with records of misdeed were put in important positions as an 'able person' or 'god of wealth,' and committed crimes again. In addition, from what we've seen in recent years, every time we institute some new and specific policies, or carry out reform on some management system, some unlawful people always use all their ingenuity to commit illegal economic activities. For instance, in recent years, when the nation carried out reform on the purchasing price of grain, these unlawful individuals engaged in 'change from parity to negotiated price,' or 'from negotiated price to above purchasing price,' in order to coax and graft grain allowance. When the nation was reforming the commodity management system, they would buy and resell rare commodities for big profits. When the nation practiced certain special policies in special economic zones, they would evade paying and illegally buy up foreign exchange, smuggle and traffic the smuggled goods. When the nation exercised reduction of taxation over collective enterprises, they would turn the production and capital resources of state enterprises into resources of collective enterprises, appropriate public property, evade tax payment, and fill their own pockets or divide the gains among their group. We must always pay attention to such situations throughout the process of comprehensive reform."

Procurator Yang said: "Nowadays, the seriousness and danger of economic crimes are recognized by more and more cadres and people, and have roused the indignation of the masses and cadres. Suppressing the economic criminals' arrogance has become a common demand from the people nationwide. Therefore, we must be determined to suppress the economic criminals' arrogance within a year or so. The main content of this object is to thoroughly investigate and wrap up the major cases of economic crimes during 1984 and early 1985, and at the same time, to strike blows at active economic crimes, investigate them vigorously, and handle them timely."

On the favorable conditions in achieving this object, Procurator Yang emphasized: "Our cardinal guarantees are that we have correct leadership from the Central Party and vigorous support from the masses. In the beginning of this year, Comrade Deng Xiaoping presented the strategic thought 'one hand on construction, one hand on the legal system.' This is our guiding ideology in

the new situation for strengthening and reforming procuratorial work. The party Central Committee convened a conference of 8,000 and called for central organs to be the model for the nation in the rectification of party disciplines. They determined to tackle the party discipline of Central and Beijing municipal organs and arrive at a result within half a year to a year. The party Central Committee further targeted political and legal work as one of the four major tasks for this year. This pointed to us a direction for the struggle against economic crimes and strengthened the procuratorial police force.

Procuratorial organs and the vast numbers of capable procuratorial police had gone through years of tempering and trials, had accumulated some experiences and set certain foundations for their work. Under the leadership of the party, with all departments concerned coordinating closely, and all people doing their best together to wage a total warfare against economic crimes, we will be able to press down the wicked waves of economic crimes that prevailed in the late 1984 and early 1985."

This reporter asked Chief Procurator Yang what will procuratorial organs emphasize to grasp the task of striking blows at economic crimes. Yang said: "Generally speaking, procuratorial organs should seriously implement the series of instructions and decisions of the party Central Committee and the Standing Committee of the People's Congress, should thoroughly carry out the policy of 'one hand on construction, one hand on the legal system,' and should take combatting economic crimes as our primary mission while not lessening our effort on combatting criminal offenders."

To be specific, we must pay close attention to the following: First we should further seek unity of our thinking, make the procuratorial police realize the importance and urgency of striking blows at economic crimes and make them realize that our nation would turn to a world of corruption, stealing, and bribery should we not press down the arrogance of the committers of serious economic crimes. Thus, procuratorial organs must uphold this guiding ideology of taking up economic crimes as our primary task and paying close attention to our work. Second, we should concentrate our efforts on investigating major and key cases. This is an experience gained from success. All procuratorial organs should grasp the clues of the major cases already placed and those we know well to make a breakthrough one by one. We will investigate any person involved and handle the case as we should, no matter who the person is, how high a rank he holds, or how senior he is. As long as it constitutes a crime, we will investigate and prosecute according to law. We must correct the phenomenon of poor law enforcement such as "replacing criminal punishment with penalty," replacing legal punishment with party discipline or political discipline and we must resist behavior such as "replacing law with words," "replacing law with power," and "bending the law for the benefit of relatives or friends." Third, we must insist on "grasping the system and grasping it systematically" to ferret out economic crimes thoroughly. All procuratorial organs should coordinate the realities of their locales, collaborate with concerned departments, select a system of fighting serious economic crimes and proceed gradually with the ferreting out of economic crimes in a planned way.

The Central Secretariat has already decided to implement a general check on taxation, finance, and price for a few years. Under the unified leadership of the party committee, procuratorial organs should actively participate in this work and discover clues to investigate and prosecute cases. Fourth, we must increase the quantity and quality of the cases handled and pay close attention to winding up cases. We must handle economic crime cases in a down-to-earth manner and not be the least big negligent. We must uphold the "two basics" and investigate the details of cases solidly and accurately so that the handling can stand the test of history. Meanwhile, we should speed up case handling and pay close attention to winding up cases. In 1985, because some procuratorial police were soft-hearted and didn't dare confront the tough, and because the hindrances and obstructions of networks of contacts and protections were many, case handling still progressed relatively slowly and therefore affected the timely and effective striking of blows at economic crime offenders. We ask all levels of procuratorial organs to particularly pay close attention to this problem. All chief procurators must dare to be today's Judge Bao, lead the handling of major cases in person, and organize an able task force to speed up the handling of cases. Sixth [as published], we must continue research to resolve certain blurs between law and policy. Last year the Supreme People's Procuratorate and Supreme People's Court jointly drew up a "Trial Implementation of Answers to the Application of Specific Laws on Current Case Handling of Economic Crimes" which took positive effect on differentiating the guilty from the not guilty. However, it still left some problems of legal boundary to be resolved. We should continue our joint research with the Supreme People's Court to interpret the judiciary and provide legal basis for striking blows at economic crimes. We also should actively participate in spreading basic legal knowledge among the people, sum up certain typical cases to use as teaching materials, and discuss the law as the case stands to publicize the legal system to all cadres and the masses.

At the end, Procurator Yang told this reporter that "Striking blows at economic crimes is a long-term difficult struggle. Even if we suppress the arrogance of economic crimes offenders within a year, we will continuously carry on the long-term battle against economic crimes till the day the four modernizations are realized just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said. Currently, the situation is good for combatting economic crimes, and our procuratorial police forces are energetic and determined. As long as we strictly act in accordance with the law and thoroughly implement the policy of the party, suppressing the arrogance of economic crime is totally possible."

13,094/9599  
CSO: 4005/934

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BANKRUPTCY LAW ATTITUDINAL SURVEY RESULTS REPORTED

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM] in Chinese No 7,  
20 Jul 86 pp 25-27

[Excerpts] To further promote the reform and to do away with "eating from the same pot," the state is now actively deliberating on an important new reform: the enforcement of a system of enterprise bankruptcy. This information attracted great attention in the society as soon as it was released. Some people supported it; others had their misgivings. Will the enforcement of the enterprise bankruptcy law (briefly called "bankruptcy law") have the understanding and support of the broad masses? This is an important question with a decisive effect on the fate of the "bankruptcy law." To answer this question, we have prepared a set of questionnaires as a survey on the social attitude, and one-time sample surveys were conducted in four cities, namely, Harbin, Hefei, Changsha and Guilin, in January 1986. More than 500 persons answered the questions of whom 40 percent were cadres of departments in charge of industry, and 43 percent were enterprises staff members and workers.

Statistics of Survey on Social Attitude toward "Enterprise Bankruptcy Law"

No	Questions	Chosen Answers	Percent
1.	China's economic situation in the past 5 years	A. Improving B. Deteriorating C. No marked change D. Ups and downs	87 0 5 8
2.	After the economic structural reform, the economic results of the whole society have	A. Markedly improved B. Markedly deteriorated C. No marked change	76 2 22
3.	Present urban economic and rural economic conditions compared	A. Rural conditions better B. Urban conditions better C. Both good	59 4 37

income?	B. Basically satisfactory	58
	C. No increase	
5. During reform, enterprise decisionmaking power has been	A. Much increased	13
	B. Not much increased	73
	C. No increase	13
6. Judging from conditions in your unit, you feel that the reform has	A. Already produced great results	5
	B. Not attained its goal and should continue	85
	C. Made no difference	6
	D. Created even more problems	4
7. Prospect of China's economic structural reform is	A. Optimistic	68
	B. Pessimistic	1
	C. Hard to foretell	13
8. For enterprises, both benefits and the threat of bankruptcy are driving forces. Is this viewpoint	A. Correct	94
	B. Incorrect	6
9. After promulgation of "bankruptcy law," the morale of workers in losing enterprises will be	A. Much lower	16
	B. Much higher	78
	C. Unchanged	6
10. After implementation of "bankruptcy law," most losing enterprises will	A. Collapse	8
	B. Invigorate themselves to turn losses into profits	81
	C. Leave things to God's will	11
11. To profit-making enterprises, promulgation of "bankruptcy law" would produce	A. Same great repercussion	78
	B. No repercussion	6
	C. Only slight repercussion	16
12. Will enforcement of bankruptcy system intensify market competition among the enterprises and induce them to improve the quality of products?	A. Yes	88
	B. No	1
	C. Not necessarily	11
13. Will enforcement of bankruptcy system induce enterprises to keep themselves better informed on the market and accordingly readjust their product varieties and specifications?	A. Yes	94
	B. No	1
	C. Hard to foretell	5

14.	After the enforcement of bankruptcy system, will enterprises consciously reduce their expenditures on consumption and invest more in technical transformation and equipment?	A. Yes	81
		B. No	4
		C. Hard to foretell	15
15.	Will enforcement of bankruptcy system induce enterprises to curtail their circulating funds and consciously regulate the amount of their bank loans?	A. Yes	76
		B. No	6
		C. Hard to foretell	18
16.	After the enforcement of bankruptcy system, will enterprises further demand greater decisionmaking power in planning their production?	A. Yes	93
		B. No	1
		C. Hard to foretell	6
17.	How will enterprises react to the promulgation of "bankruptcy law" with regard to their product prices?	A. Raise prices	18
		B. Strive to lower cost to help stabilize prices	77
		C. Maintain status quo	5
18.	After the enforcement of "bankruptcy law," will enterprises strongly demand the right to reduce personnel in order to improve economic results	A. Yes	81
		B. No	7
		C. Hard to foretell	12
19.	After the enforcement of "bankruptcy law," will many technicians and administrators of losing enterprises request to go to profit-making enterprises?	A. Yes	60
		B. No	7
		C. Hard to foretell	14
		D. Even not leaving, they will not feel easy at work	19
20.	After the enforcement of bankruptcy system, the workers will be more concerned with the enterprise's destiny, resulting in a much improved relationship between the leaders and the workers.	A. Right	60
		B. Wrong	2
		C. Hard to tell	38
21.	System of enterprise bankruptcy and liquidation is	A. Capitalist system	6
		B. Socialist system	7
		C. Commodity economic system	69
		D. Cannot be certain	18
22.	One difference between socialist competition and capitalist competition is that, under socialist conditions, competition would not lead to the bankruptcy of enterprises.	A. Right	18
		B. Wrong	60
		C. Basically right	22

23.	An enterprise's responsibility for its own profits and losses implies that it enjoys independent economic benefits and also takes economic risks.	A. Right	96
		B. Wrong	4
24.	Enforcing the enterprise bankruptcy system in China	A. Is necessary and can be considered	91
		B. Is unnecessary	9
25.	Do you support the early publication of "bankruptcy law"?	A. Yes	67
		B. No	16
		C. Neutral	17
26.	In China, what type of enterprises with the qualification of legal entities is the system of bankruptcy and liquidation suitable for?	A. All enterprises	87
		B. All except state-owned enterprises	8
		C. All except state-owned and collective enterprises	5
27.	If an enterprise has lost for a long period and is heavily in debt, the method to deal with it is	A. State subsidy	1
		B. Closing, suspending, merging or retooling	27
		C. Combination of state subsidy and consolidation before bankruptcy	29
		D. Bankruptcy if consolidation fails	43

9411  
CSO: 4005/128

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ENACTMENT OF NATIONAL SECURITY LAW URGED

Chongqing FAXUE JIKAN [JURISPRUDENCE QUARTERLY] in Chinese No 4, 1986 pp 62-63

[Article by Xu Zhongjian [1776 1813 1696]: "It is Necessary To Enact a National Security Law"]

[Text] As conditions in China and abroad have developed and national security work has intensified, there is now an urgent need for the early enactment of a national security law with Chinese characteristics to provide as soon as possible a legal basis for national security work, in order to further strengthen counter-subversion and counter-espionage work.

1. Basis for the Enactment of the National Security Law

Articles 53 and 54 of the Constitution clearly provide: "Citizens of the PRC must keep state secrets, safeguard the security and honor of the motherland, and must not commit acts detrimental to the security, honor, and interests of the motherland." Article 32 of the Constitution furthermore provides: "Foreigners within Chinese territory must abide by the laws of the PRC." Article 28 furthermore prescribes: "The state shall maintain public order and suppress treasonable and other counterrevolutionary activities." These articles of the Constitution are our basis for the enactment of a security law.

Under the actual conditions prevailing in China, and after China instituted a policy of opening to the outside world, there has been a great increase in the number of foreign organizations and individuals, Chinese of foreign nationality, overseas Chinese, and people from Hong Kong and Macao entering China for the purpose of inspections, interviews, visits to relatives, tourism, and for economic and cultural exchanges. On the one hand, this is very beneficial as it actually promotes China's modernization. But, on the other hand, we must not overlook the fact that foreign espionage and intelligence organizations, secret agents of Taiwan's Kuomintang, and certain foreign organizations and citizens utilize this opportunity in every possible way by engaging in illegal activities under the cloak of legality, by hiding secret activities under the cloak of public pursuits, by stepping up the dispatch of informants, attempts to incite rebellion and to steal secret information, and by plotting other sabotage activities. Enemy activities on the secret battlefield present a serious threat. There is, furthermore, the

fact that after China shifted the focus of its work to economic construction in the last few years, little attention and insufficient emphasis has been given to class struggle that exists within certain limits at the present stage as well to the sabotage by enemy agents, so that some comrades believe everything is peaceful, and a false sense of peace is engendered and spread, which weakens awareness of the need for safeguarding state secrets and alertness to the presence of the enemy. Due to these circumstances, there have been cases of mental paralysis resulting in loss of state secrets, cases of greed for personal gain resulting in involvement in espionage and crime; cases of loss of national and personal dignity resulting in evil deeds and shameful acts that endanger the security and interests of the state.

Conditions in various countries of the world show a general increase in counter-espionage work and more serious attention to legislation on national security. For instance, the Soviet Union, the United States, Japan, the FRG, and other countries have added provisions for the punishment of acts that endanger state security or of crimes against the state to their penal codes. Romania, the GDR, Great Britain, and other countries have specially enacted "state security laws" and "laws for the protection of state secrets." It is therefore necessary and imperative under the circumstances to supplement China's criminal law by the enactment of a state security law.

## 2. Main Content of a State Security Law

China's state security law must reflect all efforts against subversion and espionage and must mainly comprise the following: 1) An indication of the basis for the enactment, its main purpose, its jurisdictional limits, the subjects and objects involved, and the substance of the crimes against the security of the state. 2) Provisions on the duties of state organs, people's organizations, enterprise and industrial units, and citizens with regard to safeguarding state security, their responsibility to cooperate with state security organs, and the commendations and rewards that should be granted to units and individuals that contribute to the defense of state security. 3) Clear definitions of the nature of state security organs, their functions, rights and duties. This will prevent some people from thinking that state security organs merely ensure traffic safety and production safety, and it will eliminate any lopsided ideas about the state security organs. According to the resolution of the First Session of the Sixth NPC, the state security organs shall be one of the specialized organs charged with ensuring the state's security, with the character of public safety organs, and shall constitute an important force of the people's democratic dictatorship. They shall, therefore, have powers to carry out counter-subversion investigations, detentions and preliminary hearings, as well as arrests, all in proper legal form. According to relevant provisions, the state security organs shall have powers to investigate any unit in affairs involving state security, also powers to impart anti-treason, counter-espionage, and secrecy-protection propaganda and education to personnel going abroad and for all citizens, also powers to institute enquiries with any citizen, including foreigners inside Chinese territory, regarding affairs of state security, also be entitled to priority use of means of transportation and communication. 4) Provisions that determine which acts constitute crimes against the security of the state and that determine what punishment is to be meted out for what crimes.

### 3. Suggestion to Change the Crime of Counterrevolutionary Action Into A Crime of Endangering State Security

We know that the crime of counterrevolutionary action refers to an action that endangers the PRC by trying to overthrow the regime of proletarian dictatorship or the socialist system. The crime of endangering the state security refers to acts of seriously endangering the security, honor, and interests of the PRC. In comparing the two crimes, the crime of counterrevolutionary action is of a somewhat narrower concept than the crime of actions against state security. The crime of counterrevolutionary action requires that the offender must subjectively have the motive or purpose of counterrevolution, but the crime of endangering state security emphasizes only that there has to be an objective action and result endangering the security, honor, and interests of the state due to the action of the offender. From the viewpoint of actual judicial practice, it is now difficult to include in the crime of counterrevolutionary action of the current penal code the acts that endanger the security, honor, and interests of the state, a fact which presents in judicial practice many actual problems that are difficult to resolve. We have to admit that it was absolutely necessary to establish the crime of counterrevolutionary action at the time when the Chinese party and state were engaged in fierce class struggle and passed through an extraordinary period full of conflicts, when the said legal provision indeed played a highly important role in seizing state power, consolidating state power, uniting the broad masses, and striking out against the enemy. However, since class struggle is no more the main contradiction in China, and the focus is now on the development of productive forces and effective economic construction, especially also after instituting the policy of reform and of opening to the outside world, still continuing to use the crime of counterrevolutionary action is inconsistent with developments and is a practice that lags behind international legislative trends in the punishment of actions that endanger state security. As to other countries, there is the Soviet Union which as early as 1927 adopted "Regulations on Crimes in Affairs of the State," which were included in the "Penal Code of the Soviet Union." Romania also included in its penal code, promulgated in 1969, the crime of endangering the security of the state. Almost all capitalist countries adopted the crime in affairs of the state, and there is by now hardly any country left that has kept on using the crime of counterrevolutionary action. Besides, China will enforce a policy (or law) of "one country, two systems" regarding Hong Kong and Taiwan, and when Hong Kong and Taiwan will later revert to China, the capitalist system will be maintained in these territories. If we would continue to use the crime of counterrevolutionary action, it would be difficult to apply it there. For these reasons I believe it is necessary to change the crime of counterrevolutionary action into a crime of endangering the security of the state.

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CSO: 4005/232

SYMPOSIUM ON POLITICAL STRUCTURAL REFORM

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 8 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by Lu Weiwei [7120 5633 5633] and Zhang Qingxiang [1729 1987 4382]: "We Must Accomplish the Change from Revolution Structure to Construction Structure; Young Theorists Discussed Deng Xiaoping's Ideas of Political Structural Reform"]

[Text] "Academic study in politics must be based on science and proceed from reality." This was how the young theorists felt in a symposium for the discussion of Deng Xiaoping's ideas of political structural reform and for the monographic study and discussion of the practice of revolution since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

This symposium was jointly held by the young teachers and students of the Central Committee Party School and China's Economic Structural Reform Research Institute from 4 to 6 November. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's ideas expressed in the past years concerning the political structural reform were summarized by the participants as follows: first, the party's role in social lives; second, change in the functions of party organizations; third, separation between party and government functions to be guaranteed in the organizational structure; fourth, change in the form of leadership; and fifth, the development of democratic system and legal system. The participants held that all these issues were raised in practice, and that studying them from the strategic point of view will show a dynamic way for the theorists to study political science, and is of profound significance in guiding them in their further study and exploration of the present political structural reform. Deng Xiaoping's ideas of the political structural reform are continuing to develop. It is necessary to continue the improvement and development of these ideas by proceeding from reality in the practice of the reform.

The participants reviewed the experiences after the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee in many respects, and held that the main task in the current political structural reform is to accomplish a change from the structure of revolution to the structure of construction according to the requirements of the overall setup for socialist modernization and with the successful experiences of other countries for reference. They also conducted serious discussions on the implications and important aspects of China's political structural reform and the question of relationship between the party and the government.

Chen Weiren [7115 4850 0088], vice president of the Central Committee Party School; Li Fu [2621 1133], deputy director of Theory Bureau of the Central Committee Propaganda Department; Yan Jiaqi [0917 1367 0366], director of Political Science Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences; and well-known scholars Gong Xiangrui [7895 4382 3843], Zhao Baoxu [6392 1405 3563], Feng Shengbao [7458 5110 5508], and Gao Fang [7559 2397], also took part in the discussions.

9411  
CSO: 4005/224

ROLE OF CADRES AGED 50 AND ABOVE DISCUSSED

Nanning GUANGXI RIBAO in Chinese 10 Oct 86 p 3

[Article by Feng Guo [7558 2654], Xu Suwan [6079 5685 4111], and Liu Zhi [0491 0037]: "The Role of Cadres in Their 50's Should Be Highly Regarded"]

[Text] Speaking of an urgent problem in personnel work not long ago, a responsible comrade of the Ministry of Labor and Personnel clearly stated: Despite our firm policy of having younger cadres, we should still pay attention to the role of the cadres in their 50's; otherwise, it would be a loss to the cause of the four modernizations. We hold that the cadres in their 50's are an important force which cannot be ignored, especially in the present historical stage of transition from the old to the new leading bodies. These cadres are in a special position of inheriting the past and ushering in the future, and careful arrangements should be made for them to continue their good work at different posts.

I. The Specialties of Cadres in Their 50's

We must really understand the specialties of cadres in their 50's before we can make proper arrangements for their work, arouse their enthusiasm, and encourage them to make further contributions to the reform and the four modernizations.

1. They have fairly rich practical experiences. Practice begets genuine knowledge, and practical experiences are precious assets. Most of the cadres between 51-59 years of age were the old comrades who took part in revolutionary work during the 1950's, and some of them were cadres during the War of Liberation. They have diligently served the party and the people for several decades, personally witnessed the events in several historical periods after the founding of the People's Republic, and learned many lessons, both positive and negative, from their experiences in revolution and construction. These experiences and lessons can help people understand the truth and reduce or eliminate errors. After long periods of tempering and testing through the party's education and revolutionary practice, they have a fairly good grasp of Marxism-Leninism, a good capacity for work, and the ability to differentiate between "leftist" and rightist mistakes generally. Furthermore, they have many fine traditions and work styles of the party, in addition to their strong dedication to the revolutionary cause, their keen

sense of political responsibility, their better understanding of party policies, and their practical work experiences. Many of them have worked their way up from the basic levels and are therefore familiar with the work of the townships, districts, counties, prefectures, cities and up to the provinces. They have close relationships with the cadres and people at various levels, and know about the conditions in various quarters. Many of them too are intellectuals with specialized professions and an educational background equivalent to, or higher than the university or secondary vocational school level as well as the knowledge of one or more specialized technologies. In short, they are cadres with high political consciousness and vocational competence. All these qualities are the positive assets indispensable to the reform and the four modernizations, and the younger cadres should learn about and inherit these valuable assets.

2. They are the mainstay in the contingent of cadres. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, many comrades of the older generation, who are highly respected in and outside the party, have retired one after another from the leading bodies in the interests of the party and the overall situation. To meet the requirements for "cadres who are more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally competent," the selection of well educated young and middle-age cadres for promotion is an important step in the gradual rejuvenation of the leading bodies. This step is proper and entirely necessary. During the period of transition when the cadres above the age of 60 would retire from the leading bodies and be replaced by young and middle-age cadres, the cadres in their 50's should bear the responsibility of inheriting the past and ushering in the future. This is the inexorable demand of history on people of this age. As the situation now stands, most of them are middle-level cadres or basic-level leading cadres in various regions or departments or on various fronts. They are enjoying fairly high prestige among the cadres and the people and exerting certain influence both vertically and horizontally. They are the backbone elements of various departments at all levels, and have an ardent desire to continue their contribution to the reform and the four modernizations. These are the merits of cadres in their 50's which cannot be overlooked. Their role is now particularly important under the special historical conditions of a transition from the old to the new. The young and middle-age cadres, who are newcomers, are well educated and full of energy like dragons and tigers. They dare to think and to act with fervor and stamina and are not restricted by old conventions. However, because of their short service records and their lack of prolonged tempering in practical work, they are inexperienced and do not enjoy very high prestige among the masses. Generally, there will be some difficulty for them in providing active leadership. This situation can be changed only after a certain period of practice. Cadres in their 50's have exactly what they lack. As "old horses knowing the way," the cadres in their 50's have a historical mission of passing on their experiences, assisting, and leading the young and middle-age cadres, and grooming them quickly for the heavy responsibility of socialist revolution and construction. Cadres in their 50's serve as a bridge between the old and the new cadres in the period of cooperation and transition.

3. Cadres in their 50's are in the prime of life. People in the 51 to 59 age group are in the best part of their lives, because, by then, they have rich

experiences in political and daily lives, basically crystallized world outlook and philosophy of life, stable personal traits, a wide range of knowledge, resourcefulness, vocational dedication, and still good physical and mental health. They are more seasoned in all respects, and this should be the time of their achievement. As we can see from Chinese and the world history, many outstanding statesmen, military strategists, diplomats, scientists, and artists between 51 and 59 made remarkable achievements which shed brilliance in history. In China, the proletarian revolutionary of the older generation were also in their 50's when they served as the pillars of the state and made tremendous contributions to socialist revolution and construction.

## II. Utilizing Cadres in Their 50's Is a Requirement for Cooperation Between New and Old Cadres, and for The Replacement of the Old With the New

The purpose of rejuvenating the cadres ranks and the leading bodies is to facilitate the replacement of the old by the new after their cooperation. After the arrival of new cadres, a contingent comprising the age groups of 50's, 40's, 30's and 20's, in different echelons will be formed. Then we can count on the availability of new forces for the continual replenishment of the cadres ranks, prevent the aging of the leading bodies, and ensure the ability of the leaders to carry on the task without interruption. In this way, the leading bodies will be able to preserve their youthful vitality and vigor in meeting the needs of modernization. This is also the general trend of socialist modernization.

According to the science of modern leadership, age composition is one of the important components of the entire social intellectual structure. In either a society, a unit, or a family, there are people of different ages, namely, the old, the middle-age, and the young. Different ages mean different experiences, different intellectual powers, and different occupations. Some work may be better done by the old, and some may be suitable only for the young people. Generally, old people are rich in experiences, study problems more meticulously, and have a deeper insight into complex problems. Middle-age people are physically strong, full of energy, resolute in action, and persistent in work style. They too may have some practical experiences. Young people are full of enthusiasm and courage in forging ahead and pioneering. The old cadres who are like "old horses knowing the way," the middle-age cadres who are like "firm rocks in midstream," and the young cadres who are like "living dragons and tigers" must be combined in rational proportions to form a composite entity which should also continually develop in a state of dynamic equilibrium in order that they can all learn from one another, demonstrate their individual merits and abilities, and produce the strength of unity in meeting the needs of modernization and their orientation to the world and the future.

In organizing the cadres ranks, we should adopt the method of combining different echelons with all their characteristics to form a composite entity, which will provide an opportunity for each age group to demonstrate their strength. It also embodies collective wisdom, enhances the capability of policy decisions and practical work, reduces mistakes, and meets the requirements of socialist modernization. At the same time, it will speed up the training of young cadres, facilitate the transition from the old to the

new, enable the young and middle-age cadres to be groomed rapidly for heavier responsibilities, and lay a good foundation for a smooth transition in the leading bodies at all levels. This will ensure the availability of successors to carry forward our cause from generation to generation. The older comrades should also continue to study and update their knowledge in practice, and try to learn something from the young and middle-age cadres' strong points. In the contingent of an echelon structure, all the cadres can do their best in cooperating with and learning from one another. Only through their combined efforts can our cause be triumphant and its advance be continued.

Furthermore, appreciation of the role of cadres in their 50's can be highly effective in encouraging cadres in their 40's to make greater efforts to accumulate knowledge, to increase their competence, and to continue their progress. Today for those in their 50's will be tomorrow for those in their 40's, and soon the latter will be in the echelon of the former. If those in their 40's find that those in their 50's are left idle in society, they may be influenced to a certain extent and may relax their efforts. Some cadres in their 40's have already expressed their sentiments in these words: "46, 47, 48; further efforts are for naught." These sentiments should deserve our attention. We can see that making good use of cadres in their 50's not only concerns the cadres directly involved; it also has its effects on the young and middle-age cadres. In this sense, this job is of great strategic significance to the organization of the cadres ranks, the promotion of the political structural reform, the achievement of long-lasting peace for the state, and the accomplishment of the four modernizations.

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PARTY CADRE 'OBEDIENCE' DISCUSSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Nov 86 p 2

[Article by Gong Jindu [0361 0093 1653]: "'Obedience' Discussed from Another Point of View"]

[Excerpts] In some people's view, a child's highest virtue is "obedience," such as "obedience to the mother" and "obedience to the grandmother."

We do not know since when obedience as a virtue has become the criterion of evaluating cadres. The history of "appointing people for their docility" may not be too short. Most superiors are always fond of obedient subordinates, because "a thousand people saying 'yes'" is better than "one person saying 'no.'" Although the rebel heroes "dared to unhorse the emperor" during the 10 years of turmoil, they were nevertheless "absolutely obedient" to their leaders. On the higher plane of theory, there is the "famous saying" that "what you understand must be carried out; what you do not understand must also be carried out." It is quite clear that "What you do not understand must also be carried out" was meant to instill a sense of obedience instead of encouraging independent thinking among people. From the lack of understanding to understanding, from unconsciousness to consciousness, and then from something-in-itself to something-for-itself were all fostered by the political party, the mass organization, and the class claiming that it was their duty to make revolution. They treat people as puppets and insist on their being docile and obedient, while actually regarding themselves as saviors head and shoulders above others. This is contrary to the original purpose of making revolution, although they are still singing "There has never been any savior." The word obedience has no class attribute, and it is hard to determine whether it is complimentary or derogatory, and whether it is right or wrong, because it all depends on first, who is obedient to whom; second, what kind of order is to be obeyed; third, whether the order should be obeyed. Even though it must be obeyed, we should clearly understand it, eventually, if not immediately.

If the masses truly rely on their own effort in liberating themselves, then who should obey whom? Perhaps, it should be the other way around, or at least "mutual obedience." Under a democratic system, people are the masters, and the people's public servants should serve them well and listen to what they say. If what the masters think or say are ignored, then the service is at least like scratching an itch outside the boot, if not exactly aiming at the south while driving the chariot northward. The party must be good at listening to the people's outcries before the people can sing "obey the party's order" and then become "each other's audience." This is only reasonable.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

REFERENCE AIDS FOR CADRE STUDY OF 'SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION'

Shenyang LILUN YU SHIJIAN [THEORY AND PRACTICE] in Chinese No 20-21, 1986  
pp 24-25, 35-36

[Article: "Questions and Answers Concerning the 'Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Concerning the Guiding Principles for Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization'"]

[Excerpts] 7. What are the main problems in building spiritual civilization at present?

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have energetically built material civilization and at same time greatly promoted and developed socialist spiritual civilization. This is the main trend. However, we must not fail to see the many problems in building spiritual civilization.

First, spiritual civilization building is in many respects incompatible with socialist modernization and with the conditions of the reform and the open-door policy. Conservative and ossified concepts, procrastination as a work style, being contended with mediocrity, wasting time, and other bad habits are still very serious in various spheres of social life. The concepts of innovation, competition, time element and result, all required for reform and modernization, have not been actually established. Many new developments, new ideas, and new problems emerging in the reform and the development of a commodity economy have not yet been carefully studied or solved. Many questions, such as how spiritual civilization building will fit in the new reform, how to assimilate the positive results of foreign culture, how to resist the corrupted ideology and culture inevitably brought forth by the open-door policy, and so forth, have not yet been settled. The same incompatibility is also very obvious in cultural development. In the contemporary age, 60 to 80 percent of the increase in labor productivity and economy are attributed to new technologies provided by culture and education, while cultural and educational developments tend to be ahead of economic development. Yet some comrades do not realize the extreme importance of cultural development, thinking that cultural and educational departments are only the departments for consumption. Cultural development is now far too backward for economic development. There are numerous difficulties in the reform of education, science and culture. The position of intellectuals,

especially the teachers of elementary and secondary schools, is low, and the problem of their low wages has not been basically solved. The social conduct of respecting knowledge and talents is only just beginning. The problem of incompatibility of these ideas, viewpoints and practical work for the development of the reform, the open-door policy, and the modernization program is in urgent need of solution.

Second, the importance of building spiritual civilization is still not fully realized. An important feature of socialism is socialist spiritual civilization as one of the main goals of socialist modernization. Spiritual civilization and material civilization coordinate with and promote each other in common development. Without spiritual civilization, reform and economic development will be led astray. This idea was clearly announced in the Report to the 12th CPC National Congress long ago. In real life, however, many comrades still do not fully realize the strategic position occupied by spiritual civilization. In their one-sided interpretation of the general task and general goal of modernization, they have left out spiritual civilization; and in their one-sided interpretation of the relationship between material civilization and spiritual civilization, they consider the latter as an unnecessary soft task and do not take it seriously. They think that as long as material civilization is successful, spiritual civilization will automatically rise to a higher level. Therefore, the practice of ignoring the need for education in lofty ideals, moral integrity, and discipline, while belittling education, science, and culture is still very serious. This is the main reason why the building of spiritual civilization is far short of what we desire.

Third, the problem of guiding principles for practical work has not been completely solved. In party work, economic construction is the central task, and all other tasks should help promote the development of economic construction and accelerate the progress of the reform and the open-door policy. This is the starting point of our spiritual civilization building. For various reasons, however, some comrades consciously or unconsciously neglected economic construction as the central task and even set spiritual civilization against economic construction and the economic structural reform. For example, instead of consciously serving economic construction with spiritual civilization as its subordinate, all they did was only for show and had nothing to do with the development of economic construction. Again, instead of doing anything "constructive" and effective in preventing and eliminating the negative ideas and influence inevitably brought forth by the reform and the open-door policy, they indiscriminately attributed the negative and corrupted practice in real life to this source and blindly, passively tried to "stop" and "prevent" it. Therefore, the central committee's reiteration of the guiding principles for spiritual civilization is of very great significance.

Fourth, there are some serious negative phenomena in the party and the society, and their elimination calls for great efforts on our part. In the past several years, thanks to the efforts of the party and the people throughout the country, our party work style and the social atmosphere were gradually improving. However, because the building of spiritual civilization was overlooked in actual work, these negative phenomena have not been

overcome, and some of them have even become worse. In the party, a small number of its members (including party member cadres) are apathetic, demoralized, and lax in discipline. Some of them have acquired the habit of feudal bureaucrats, always competing for higher offices in government and looking for profits on the market. Some of them are estranged from the people because of their serious bureaucratism. Some of them have no respect for principles and are using their authority to serve private purposes and to appoint people, especially the relatives of their wives, by favoritism. Some of them, with their corrupted bourgeois ideas, have become degenerated and embarked on the path of crimes. In society, some people, lacking in lofty ideals, social morality, and professional ethics, would do anything for profits including the use of deceitful means to harm others. Hooliganism, feudal superstition, and gambling are thriving, and even prostitution, which disappeared entirely after liberation, is resurfacing. Therefore, an important task still confronting us in building socialist spiritual civilization is to overcome these negative phenomena and to strive for a basic turn for the better in party work style and in social atmosphere.

17. What are the historical lessons to be borne in mind in spiritual civilization building?

Since the founding of the People's Republic more than 30 years ago, China's spiritual civilization building has traversed a tortuous course. We have had achievements as well as defects; and gained experience as well as learned our lessons the hard way. Bearing in mind these historical lessons is of great significance in conscientiously implementing the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPC on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Spiritual Civilization" adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee and in continuing to build spiritual civilization.

When China's socialist transformation had been basically completed, the party made its biggest mistake in exaggerating class struggle, which then existed only to a certain extent, as the principal contradiction. Thus, instead of shifting the focus of work to economic construction, it still persisted in taking class struggle as the key link. This erroneous guiding principle not only slowed down China's economic construction, but also caused serious damage to China's spiritual civilization. This historical lesson has these two main aspects:

1. Education, science and culture were for a long time slighted. Education, science, and culture are important aspects of spiritual civilization and a necessary condition for building ideological and material civilization and, therefore, deserve very special attention. For a long time, however, they were precisely what we neglected, as most vividly and prominently shown by our underestimation of knowledge and discrimination against intellectuals. Educators, scientists and technicians, and literary and art workers are originally mental laborers. However, their mental labor was for a long time not duly recognized, and they were excluded from the working class and treated as targets to be "unified, educated, and transformed." The phenomenon of underestimating knowledge and discriminating against intellectuals was at its peak during the rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who repudiated many important scientific and cultural achievements as being "feudal,

capitalist, and revisionist," and did everything they could to spread the idea that "more knowledgeable means more reactionary," and that "we'd rather have uneducated laborers than educated intellectual aristocrats." The masses of intellectuals were branded as "the stinking ninth category," and many intellectuals with outstanding achievements were attacked and persecuted as "ghosts and monsters" and "reactionary academic authorities of the bourgeoisie." Thus, China's education, science, and culture suffered serious disruption. Liaoning's educational front had the same fate. During the "cultural revolution," three institutions of higher learning were closed, eight others were moved to the countryside, and most of the secondary vocational schools were disintegrated. Calculating from its capacity for new students in 1965, the province lost 60,000 university students and 110,000 secondary vocational schools in 10 years. This caused not only great financial losses for the state, but also a scarcity of talented people after the smashing of the "gang of four." The young people qualified for leading posts were then very rare.

The reason why the tendency to slight education, science, and culture in spiritual civilization building could last so long was that the "leftist" ideology and the small-scale production concept, then prevalent in the party, had not been eradicated. When the exploiting class had been basically eliminated in China, the principal contradiction in the society should be between the people's daily increasing material and cultural wants and the backward social production. Under such conditions, the party should have promptly shifted the focus of its work to economic construction. Because of the fetters of "leftist" ideology, however, the party arbitrarily continued to launch an all-out and protracted class struggle which seriously hindered the development of economic construction. Economic construction is closely related to education, scientific and cultural developments, because they promote, restrict, and supplement one another. Unless the focus of work is shifted to economic construction, the strategic positions occupied by education, science, and culture cannot be elevated, and the tendency to underestimate them will remain. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the focus of party work was shifted to economic construction, while education and science were affirmed as the strategic priorities for China's economic and social developments. The long tendency of slighting science and culture was basically reversed.

2. Class struggle was grossly exaggerated in the realm of ideology, culminating in the internal turmoil of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Proper recognition and handling of struggles in the ideological realm form an important feature of ideological building. When class struggle no longer constituted the principal contradiction in the Chinese society, contradiction in the ideological realm is mostly between truth and fallacy, between the advanced and the backward, and between different schools of thought or arts, and class struggle is not the nature of such contradictions. Although some controversies bore the ideological stamp of the old class, they still cannot be over-simplified as class contradiction or class struggle. The ideologies of different classes have not only their mutually repelling features, but also other features which can be critically inherited or used for reference. In the latter case, such controversies cannot be called struggles between two irreconcilable classes. Ideology can serve as a tool of class struggle (or

political struggle), but we can never say that struggles in the ideological realm are all class struggles. Therefore, we must correctly understand and assess ideological struggles before we can actually implement the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" instead of paying only lip service to it. Only thus can we carefully, and not haphazardly, handle the disputes between different ideologies, enrich science and culture, and promote socialist spiritual civilization.

After socialist transformation was basically completed in China, because of our party's wrong assessment of the situation of class struggle at home and abroad and its undue stress on class struggle, the scope of the antirightist struggle in 1957 was broadened, and then after the ill-considered struggle against rightist opportunism in 1959, we again carried out extremely improper and excessive political repudiations in the realm of ideology following the conclusion of the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee in 1962 and up to 1965. In the literary and art circles, we repudiated "Liu Zhidan," "Li Huiniang," "the Threshold of Spring," and many other fine movies, dramas and novels. In academic circles, we criticized Yang Xianzhen's [2799 3759 3971] philosophic theory of "combining two into one", Sun Yefang's [1327 0396 5364] economic thoughts; and the so-called "nonclass views" and "policy of appeasement" of Jian Bozan [5054 0130 6363], Wu Han [0702 2498], and some others in the study of history. Thus academic problems were equated with political problems, and, from the academic point of view, we wrongly labeled them as "revisionists" and "counterrevolutionaries." These criticisms shattered the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," hindered the healthy development of the party's scientific and cultural undertakings, harmed the intellectuals, and finally led to the "Great Cultural Revolution," the 10 years of internal turmoil.

We must, therefore, bear in mind these historical lessons in building spiritual civilization. Only thus can we ensure the healthy development of China's spiritual civilization in the correct direction.

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CSO: 4005/210

SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION, OPEN-DOOR POLICY DISCUSSED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Oct 86 p 4

[Article by Chen Zhenhong [7115 6966 1347]: "Development of Spiritual Civilization Equally Requires Opening to the Outside World"]

[Text] The "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Spiritual Civilization" points out: "As a basic, unalterable state policy, opening to the outside world is conducive not only to the development of our material civilization, but also to building our spiritual civilization." This means, that development of spiritual civilization is also in need of opening to the outside world. This idea is highly significant for the accelerated development of China's socialist spiritual civilization.

There is now fairly unanimous agreement that development of material civilization requires opening up to the outside world. But there is a very large difference of opinion on whether spiritual civilization too requires opening to the outside world. Some comrades keep denouncing the ideas and culture of the Western developed countries (excepting their S&T) as "decadent bourgeois mentality," and are in constant fear that it will be brought in by some parties and will "pollute" the purity of our souls. In opening up to the outside world they would, therefore, allow only advanced machinery to be brought in, but would block the entry of foreign ideas and culture by every possible means and method. This is actually not only impossible, but also not an advantageous thing to do.

The fact is that backwardness of a country not only signifies a low level of its productive forces and a low per capita national income, also not only backwardness in education and management, but also a backwardness in the mentality of its people and in the quality of its population. If a country is opened up only to develop its material civilization, if it is only importing advanced technologies and management skills and would wall itself off from the outside world as regards all things spiritual, would remain blinded by presumptuous self-conceit and refuse to absorb advanced ideologies and culture, it would be futile to place even the most advanced technologies into the hands of a people so backward in general qualities. It is precisely as the "Resolution" expresses it: "The modern history of the world and of China

shows that no country and no nation can progress if they refuse to accept elements of advanced science and culture from abroad."

Why should we study foreign ideas and culture? To gain an answer, I believe, we must approach this question from a variety of aspects.

From the viewpoint of advancing in the social sciences, it is very necessary to study foreign ideas and culture. China is guided by Marxism, which is a scientific world view and methodology; this is beyond doubt. However, Marxism is an open ideological system, which does not at all preclude absorbing the excellent cultural achievements of others. When it was created, Marxism absorbed positive elements of classical German philosophy, of classical English political economy, and of French utopian socialism. During its development, Marxism later progressed by continuously absorbing the excellent cultural achievements of other countries. From the Chinese point of view, Marxism too is an "import" from abroad. It is unthinkable that after the emergence of Marxism-Leninism, foreign countries would not have produced further advanced ideologies that could be absorbed. We have to thoroughly analyze the ideologies and culture of the capitalist countries. It will not do to denounce them sweepingly as "decadent," because ideology is not only determined by production relations. Ideas that reflect advanced productive forces and advanced S&T could very well be directly absorbed by us. We could even make eclectic use of ideologies and elements of culture that are determined by capitalist production relations. Actually, the Western "three old theories" (information theory, cybernetics, and systems theory) and the "three new theories" (dissipated structure theory, coordination theory, and mutation theory), and the results of other theories, have already had a positive and encouraging impact on our sociological research. The "Resolution" expresses it very clearly: "Marxism is a science that constantly enriches and develops itself in keeping with historical and scientific advances. Far from exhausting truth, it constantly opens up new avenues to truth in practice." In our efforts to continuously advance Marxism, we must, on the one hand, sum up our new experiences in socialist construction, and, on the other hand, must "study the new transformations in the contemporary world, the various trends in contemporary thought, and critically absorb and generalize the latest achievements in all the various branches of scientific development."

From the viewpoint of eliminating feudal traditional concepts, it is also very necessary to study foreign ideas and cultures. Socialism is more progressive than capitalism and superior to capitalism; this too is beyond doubt. But the socialist system is in a process of developing from a lower to a higher stage. We are now only at the initial stage of socialism, and the superiority of the socialist system has not yet been brought to full fruition. In the process of self-improvement, socialism must of course not reject absorbing any of the excellent cultural achievements of the world. This is especially true of China because China has not passed through a consummate stage of capitalism, but moved directly from a semifeudal society to socialism. Since the achievements of Chinese bourgeois ideology and culture have been so limited, the Chinese bourgeoisie did by far not accomplish its historical task of eradicating feudal traditional ideas and of absorbing achievements of Western capitalist culture. We are therefore still faced with the historical

task of eliminating feudal traditional concepts. After victory in the October Revolution, Lenin once pointed out: "Some have said at this meeting that we can build socialism without learning from the bourgeoisie. In my opinion this is the mentality of the inhabitants of the interior of Africa. It is beyond imagination that there is any other socialism besides the one built on the foundation of all the experiences gained by the gigantic capitalist culture." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 285) Now that we are trying to rid ourselves of the traditional concepts of feudalism, as, e.g., the patriarchal concept, the mentality of special privileges, despotic style of work, valuing men above women, etc. the excellent cultural achievements of capitalism are still playing a role that we must not underrate.

From the viewpoint of the relation between our national inheritance and the study of Western culture, inheriting the excellent achievements of our ancient culture does not at all preclude absorbing excellent achievements from abroad. Some regard China's ancient culture as something uniquely superb and denounce absorption of foreign ideas and culture as the behavior of "unfilial progeny of China's legendary culture heroes." This attitude shows also ignorance of China's ancient culture. China's ancient culture developed by absorbing on a broad scale from the cultures of various countries of the world. Ancient China imported and absorbed on a large scale the Buddhist culture of India, which had a huge impact on China's philosophy, literature, architecture, and music. Under the new historical conditions, it is only by absorbing advanced ideas and cultural elements from abroad that we can make full use of our inheritance and develop the essence of our ancient culture. In cultural development there is also "hybridization for better quality," and it is only in Sino-foreign cultural interchange that a culture of novel quality will be engendered, namely a series of value concepts which conform to the commodity economy. In today's world, all material and spiritual production by all the countries has universal nature. Through exchanges and convergences the spiritual products of all nations become the common wealth of mankind. Only by boldly absorbing the excellent ideological and cultural achievements of all nations will we be able to overcome China's national onesidedness and limitations and as a consequence be able to build a spiritual civilization superior to that of capitalism.

The need to open up toward the world in order to build our spiritual civilization does of course not mean that we have to take in and incorporate everything foreign. We must resolutely reject the decadent elements in capitalist thought and culture, and in capitalist lifestyle. In that respect, much has already been done in Guangzhou Province, especially in the special economic zones and opened-up coastal cities, with very conspicuous results.

9808

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FORMALISM, SELF-AGGRANDIZEMENT CRITICIZED

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 28 Oct 86 p 1

[By staff commentator: "Avoid by All Means Resorting to Deception"]

[Excerpts] "It looks good, is sounds good, but is actually of no use." This is how the broad masses emphatically condemn formalism, especially deceptions, such as false models, false experiences, and false publicity. This condemnation is still not without customary Chinese complaisance and sincerity, but the little word "false" is not only an indication of uselessness, but also of inflicting serious harm.

Although deceitful practices have lessened somewhat in recent years, they have not died out. One manifestations is the show of false models. In order to produce a model, to have the cadre's face radiate with glory, they would rig up some sham, heavily paint it up, have a whole crowd hedge this one egg, spare no financial and material means as well as manpower to produce this dazzlingly brilliant model. This model is absolutely useless for any actual work in hand, it is merely harmful. A second manifestation is the creation of false experiences. Hardly has a directive been received from higher authority than that the "experience" has come about in a matter of 2 days. There it is, complete, laid out in neat chapters and paragraphs, with points, outline, and figures, specially compiled for submission to higher authority, but without the slightest significance for possible dissemination or to draw lessons from. A third manifestation is the false publicity. Once there is a "false model" and "false experience," it must be publicized, otherwise, what would be the use to "walk around at night dressed in brocade?" So let us make a big hullabaloo, raise the quota at each level, each person adding some more luster, without regard for costs. There are many more manifestations of deceitful practices; it would be impossible to list them all.

Employing tricks and practicing deceit is engendered by formalism and by putting on airs. It starts with attempts to gain undeserved reputation and ends with incurring real disaster. Why are there always people so extremely interested in inviting disaster in this way? Because of the benefits for themselves. If it is done well, there will be commendations, rewards, promotions, and at least a demonstration of one's ability. To stop this practice we must first of all avoid employing cadres who by nature are deceitful; the least character requirement in all cadres must be that they

are truthful and do actual work. Next, we must ask that the higher ranking leadership must have their mind set on seeking truth from facts. "If the top is good, the lower ones will be even more so," is a natural truth. The leadership must be apt at spotting weak points in all the shimmer and glory and at strictly criticizing cadres who resort to deceitful practices, and must especially prevent them from gaining benefits from such actions.

If cadres want to attain achievements in their official careers, it may, generally speaking, be a good thing to forgive them if they want to make a name for themselves. However in doing so, they must go the right way and must under no circumstances stray into the wrong way of trickery and deceit, and finally end up doing harm to people, to themselves, and to affairs in general.

9808

CSO: 4005/226

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM IN MINORITY NATIONALITY REGIONS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by Wu Qinying [2976 0530 5391]: "Reforming Education for Minority Nationality Regions According to Their Special Characteristics and Law of Development"]

[Excerpt] "One classroom, one blackboard, several beds, and a mess hall." This is a description of the facilities in the nationality academies for cadre training shortly after the founding of the People's Republic. Now, with the shift of the focus of party work, these academies are given the task of training highly specialized talents for modernization in the minority nationality regions. Use of the former methods in running these academies will certainly hinder the development of nationality education to a higher stage.

At the enlarged meeting of all the directors of nationalities affairs commissions throughout the country, it was learned that the presidents and party committee secretaries of 13 nationality academies, who attended the meeting, proposed a reform of nationality education according to the law of higher nationality education in the new period, and particularly the solution of several problems.

A change in special facilities and the addition of mathematics, physics, chemistry, and economics to the curriculum. In the past 30 years, the special facilities for nationality academies, based on political work as the central task of the 1950's and 1960's, were mostly for social sciences. Now the most urgent need of minority nationality regions is for talents in economic construction. It was proposed that in the future, apart from the Central Minority Nationality Academy with liberal arts as the main discipline, special courses for agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, rural energy engineering, economic management, and so forth should be established, and the ratio of natural sciences should be higher in other academies. Thus some modern instruments and equipment should be acquired for teaching, and the investment in education should be higher.

Diversified forms instead of any arbitrary uniformity of academies. After a period of serious disruption and stagnation of nationality education, the number of minority nationality students was greatly increased upon its

recovery and development. However, the local minority nationality academies cannot meet their requirements because of their small sizes and enrollments. It was suggested that the academies be run in different forms, according to different specifications, and at different levels. There can be regular courses, special courses, preparatory courses, cadre training classes, and even secondary vocational classes according to the conditions of different minority nationality regions. We cannot arbitrarily impose on them the standard of a university only for the sake of uniformity.

No rigid macrocontrol from the state, certain decisionmaking power for the school. Minority nationality academies have their own special features in management and teaching, the subjects to be taught, the assignment of graduates, and the qualification of teachers. If the authority of the departments in charge is over-centralized, not much freedom can be enjoyed at the lower levels. Luo Bingzheng [5012 3521 2973], deputy secretary of the party committee of Central Minority Nationality Academy, said: "We are expected to improve the quality of teaching and to train the children well. However, the school has no authority to discipline a single student." He mentioned that a minority nationality girl student once committed serious violations of school disciplines, and the school tried to expel her. However, the department concerned ordered her reinstatement until graduation despite the school's objection. The school could only acquiesce reluctantly. On the other hand, when the school wanted to have a language teacher from some other minority nationality region, it had no authority to do anything.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

APPROACH TO COMPETITION DISCUSSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by Ceng Xiangming [2582 4382 2494]: "Let Us Study a Little About 'Deep-rooted Habits'"]

[Excerpts] Even a great, outstanding nation has its defects and weaknesses. These defects and weaknesses form part of the national trait, and are therefore called "national deep-rooted habits."

However, there are different views of what "deep-rooted habits" are. Painters and authors have their own views. Painter Ceng Fan [2582 5400] said in his speech in Nankai University: Our national deep-rooted habit was an A Q spirit in the past and is jealousy now. Author Li Guowen [2621 0948 2429], winner of the Mao Dun prize for literature, said in one of his articles that it means "internal consumption." What is "internal consumption"? Li Guowen cited a thought-provoking fable summarized as follows: When two Americans are in a race, what the one behind has in mind is how to beat his opponent by relying of his own physical strength; when two Englishmen are in a race, the one behind genuinely admires the one in front, and thinks "I should be the one to offer the first bouquet of congratulation"; when two Japanese are in a race, the one behind, though feeling some discomfiture, begins to plan his next move: to turn this race into a good advertisement for economic gains; and in the case of two Chinese, after the firing of the signal gun, they would start a fight instead of racing, and the winner, after knocking down his opponent, would slowly walk to the award rostrum. The style of competition between these two Chinese is called "internal consumption." The views of the painter and the author, though not identical, have the same essence: "Jealousy" is the root, and "internal consumption" is the "flower" and "fruit" from this root.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

INTERSCHOLASTIC COOPERATION IN DALIAN REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Oct 86 p 5

[Article by the Investigation and Research Division of the Science Education Department of the Dalian Municipal CPC Committee: "Horizontal Contact Is a Good Way To Tap Potential of Colleges and Universities; Report on the Development of Interschool Cooperative Activities at Dalian Institutions of Higher Learning"; reprinted from HIGHER EDUCATION IN CHINA No 10, 1986]

[Text] Since 1981, institutions of higher learning in Dalian have extensively expanded inter-school cooperative activities and have obtained gratifying results.

The Dalian Intercollegiate Cooperation Commission, established in the beginning of 1981, was initiated by 11 schools including the Dalian Industrial College and the Dalian Institute of Marine Transport. Since 1983, the number of participating schools has increased to 22, including such colleges and universities as the Dalian Radio and Television University, the Dalian Administrative Cadres College, the Dalian Education College, the Dalian Surface Naval Vessels College, and the Dalian Naval Political Affairs School. The commission has formed an office and nine cooperative organizations covering the fields of teaching, scientific research, finance, logistics, library materials, university research, personnel, foreign affairs, and capital construction. It also has two affiliated organizations, the Campus Workshop Association and the Mathematics Teaching and Research Association.

The Cooperation Commission convenes an annual work conference during the summer vacation in which they summarize their work, exchange experiences, propose new tasks, and decide the guiding ideology and work program of the cooperative work of the new school year. The College Cooperation Office is a standing body of the Cooperation Commission and is subordinate to the dual leadership of the Liaoning Higher Education Bureau and the Dalian CPC Committee Science Education Department. Each cooperative organization basically has an activity each month. Funds are pooled from each institution and the provincial Higher Education Bureau also provides a small subsidy.

Since the Dalian Intercollegiate Cooperation Commission was first established, the role it has played is as follows:

## Opportunities Have Been Developed for Teachers to Hold Two Teaching Jobs Concurrently and for the Joint Training of Graduate Students

By and large, the teaching force at Dalian's institutions of higher learning is abundant but unevenly distributed. The teaching strength at some colleges and universities, like at the Dalian Industrial College, is comparatively strong, while at others, especially at local universities, it is weak. The specialized subjects at each college and university have special characteristics. According to the teaching needs of each college and university, the Intercollegiate Cooperation Commission acts as a go-between and, in line with the principles of priority planning, favorable fee terms, and quality assurance, it regulates employment of teachers. According to incomplete statistics of the 1985 school year, the Dalian Institute of Marine Transport and 5 science and engineering schools mutually hired more than 130 teachers, and set up more than 60 courses. The recently established Dalian University hires more than 40 teachers from the outside each school term, and offers more than 40 courses. The Dalian Institute of Marine Transport, where the teaching staff is comparatively abundant, hired 16 teachers from sister schools and institutions in 1985. In the past 5 years, more than 600 teachers were assigned to hold concurrent teaching jobs at various colleges and universities, resolving some of the difficulties of overlapping courses and the shortages of teachers for frontier and developing sciences.

In the past few years, on the basis of teachers holding two teaching jobs concurrently, they have expanded joint training of graduate students and joint applications for the right to award academic degrees, and resolved the problems of weak discipline in the local areas and the training of qualified personnel at the higher levels in new and developing disciplines. In 1985, there were 15 schools and colleges jointly training Master's-level graduate students in 10 fields of study.

## The Commission Has Formed Experience Exchanges and Mutual Work Inspections, and Promoted Reform Work at Various Colleges and Universities

In 1985, the educational administration, scientific research, general affairs, financial affairs, and other cooperative organizations together convened 35 experience exchange and discussion of reform work conferences, greatly promoting various kinds of reform work at different colleges and universities.

In March and April of 1986, the scientific research organization convened two consecutive conferences to exchange experiences on applying for natural science funds. In 1985, 5 colleges and universities including the Dalian Industrial College applied for 60 natural science fund projects. In 1986, the number of colleges and universities that made applications increased to 8, and they applied for altogether 187 projects, 8 of which were joint applications. This is a good beginning toward the joint research and resolution of the problem of overlapping courses.

The Cooperation Commission also organized library materials, finance, and logistics cooperative organizations to expand mutual inspection activities. On the basis of mutual inspection, they formulated a responsibility and work

system in each department of the library. Since 1985, they have organized evaluations of "clean dining halls", and have been carrying them out for 2 years.

The library materials and finance organizations, on the basis of mutual inspections, have helped newly established schools start libraries and set up financial accounts, and have received favorable comments from the colleges and universities concerned.

#### Various Schools Help Supply Each Other With Library Materials, and Equipment and Facilities are Shared

Since developing cooperative activities among institutions of higher learning, the relevant school departments have made extensive contacts and carried out extensive collaborations creating a favorable situation for colleges to practice mutual support in helping to supply each others needs. Library collections at Dalian's institutions of higher learning have altogether reached more than 600 million volumes, with 90 percent of all technical materials reflecting an advanced world standard concentrated in college libraries. The library materials cooperative organization has established an interlibrary contact system that provides "interlibrary borrower's cards" and "interlibrary readers' cards" that can be interchangeably used at all Dalian colleges and universities, allowing teachers and graduate students to take full advantage of each school's library collection. Various libraries also often exchange bibliographies, supplying each other with needed information.

In order to strengthen the practicality of the educational links and resolve the difficulty of insufficient equipment and facilities at some schools and colleges, an interschool experiment has been conducted to regulate the use of computers and to mutually redistribute the teaching practice. For example, the machine processing teaching facilities at the Dalian Aquatic Products College and the Dalian Army College are insufficient, so the Dalian Railway College, on their own accord, assumes responsibility for the teaching practices at those two schools.

#### Different Types of Training Classes are Conducted, Raising the Professional Quality and Management Standards of Staff and Workers at Various Colleges and Universities

In order to enhance the professional quality of the teaching staff and workers at its colleges and universities, the Intercollegiate Cooperation Commission fully uses the strong points of the qualified personnel of its colleges and universities and vigorously organizes its capability to conduct various training classes. Since 1982, they have conducted 16 training classes in fields like library information, scientific research, logistics, and financial affairs, training more than 930 cadres, staff, and workers.

Since 1985, the Intercollegiate Cooperation Commission has organized academic lectures on specialized topics like "Library Management," "Setting Up a Scientific Management System," "The Study of Science," and "Theories on Appraising the Quality of Higher Education," with more than 420 people

attending the lectures. The finance, scientific research, and logistic cooperative work organizations also held key dissertation lectures to report on management reforms, received more than 60 dissertations, and reported on research achievements in the fields of management theory at various schools. Each cooperative work organization also convened various conferences such as symposiums on traditional idea transformation theories, discussions on ideological and political work in the new period, and symposiums for head librarians. These symposiums raised the standards of leadership and facilitated the promotion of work at each school.

#### Military and Local Colleges and Universities Have Jointly Raised their Standards by Studying Together and Relying on Each Other for Assistance

The armed forces colleges and universities have completely participated in the relevant activities organized by the Cooperation Commission, improving the circulation of information between military and local schools and colleges. The armed forces colleges and universities have also adopted the method of lecture exchanges, inviting local colleges and universities to present their experiences in teaching reform, graduate training, and in imparting knowledge and educating people. In order to help local colleges and universities develop their ideals, future prospects, and disciplinary education, model war heroes of the Dalian Ground Forces College and the Shenyang Second Ground Artillery School formed a touring lecture group and gave 5 talks while touring colleges and universities throughout the city, with more than 15,000 people attending the lectures. Their heroic deeds moved people of the same age, and elicited a strong response from the university students. The Cooperation Commission has also organized regular lectures, symposiums, and get-togethers among military and local college students that has promoted understanding and friendship.

#### Finding New Means of Communications, Colleges and Local Government Departments Have Maintained Close Ties

In order to obtain local support for the work of institutions of higher learning and to help schools resolve practical problems, the Inter-College Cooperation Commission and departments such as the Municipal Finance, Tax, Bank, Commercial, Commodities, and Capital Construction Departments have made extensive contacts. By obtaining the support of these departments and helping schools resolve a large number of their practical difficulties, they have provided favorable conditions for education, scientific research, and capital construction at colleges and universities. Moreover, each college and university has been able to utilize their own strong points to train local qualified personnel and to promote local economic development and services. In 1985 alone, the 5 coastal cities of Dalian, Dandong, Jinzhou, Yingkou, Panjin were entrusted with the training of more than 800 students, and transferred the possession of 49 science and technology projects. Each college and university carried out an inventory and made a contribution of their overstock and equipment and facilities that needed to be replaced in order to make compulsory education universal and help improve the running of urban and rural middle and elementary schools.

The development of cooperative activities among colleges and universities has also been instructive in two ways:

1 The Dalian Intercollegiate Cooperation Commission has strengthened horizontal contacts between colleges and universities, and promoted a better kind of organizational method to jointly run schools within a given region. Dalian's 16 regular colleges and universities which includes natural science, engineering, medicine, aquatic products, navigation, finance and economics, teachers training, and foreign language departments among their 86 departments and 154 specialized fields, has pooled 52 percent of Dalian's high-level intellectuals. Much of the advanced equipment and facilities and many of the library materials are mainly concentrated in the colleges and universities. The interschool contacts, which fully tap the potential of each college and university in an beneficial way, bring into play the strong points of each school and counteracts each schools' weaknesses. The usefulness of the contacts is particularly striking when training qualified personnel of the various administrative levels in overlapping courses, frontier sciences, and new and developing sciences. It is obvious that the strengthening of intercollegiate horizontal contacts and the vigorous expansion of cooperative activities is the inevitable developing trend promoting college-level teaching.

2 The Dalian Intercollegiate Cooperation Commission makes it easy for the local CPC Committee to strengthen its leadership with regard to university work. Dalian is a comparatively concentrated city. Among 22 colleges and universities, 7 are under the authority of the CPC Central Committee, 4 are under the province, 5 are under the city, and 6 are under the military. The administrative relations of each school are under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and the relevant provincial, municipal, and military departments, respectively, and with the exception of the military schools, the party relations are under the municipal CPC Committee. How the local CPC Committee carries out management in colleges and universities that are under different jurisdictions, where the administrative and leadership relations vary and have different standards--the experience accumulated in this area by the Dalian Intercollegiate Cooperation Commission merits attention. Under the leadership and support of the municipal CPC Committee, the Intercollegiate Cooperation Commission can form an organic whole out of the various types of colleges and universities, and direct the work of each school in conformity with the principle of democratic consultation. This will be extremely beneficial in helping the local CPC Committee coordinate relations between colleges and universities and the relevant departments.

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TAO XINGZHI'S TEACHINGS CITED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Oct 86 p 5

[Article by Fang Yanming [2455 1693 2494]: "Study the Essence of Mr Tao Xingzhi's Bold Educational Reforms"]

[Text] The great modern people's educator of China, Mr Tao Xingzhi [7118 5887 4249], was engaged in education all his life, making many theoretical and practical contributions. His is the intellectual spirit that runs through reform in educational work. Today, in reviewing his educational practices and discussions on educational reform, we are moved by his kindness twice as much.

In early 1927, Mr Tao solemnly said "the world after the 20th century belongs to the nation that strives to obtain knowledge." In enabling the people of China to receive an education, he "lived and died for a great cause." His rich educational practices and theories and the brilliant rays of their truth are still shining brightly today.

Integrate teaching, studying, and practice, integrate theory with practice, these are the important points in Tao Xingzhi's thoughts on education. Why did Mr Tao devote so much attention to "integrating teaching, studying, and practice"? He said, "If you want to acquire the experience that mankind has to offer, you must integrate teaching, studying, and practice, for it is the most effective way; life's education is the integration of teaching, studying, and practice; in integrating teaching, studying, and practice not only can we not neglect the free will of our intellect, moreover, because we work with our brains during labor and "practice" the essence of intellect in a down-to-earth manner, the intellect complies and we exert ourselves even more." Mr Tao Xingzhi emphasized that integration of teaching, studying, and practice and integration of theory and practice in the process of teaching are still very important and have practical significance with regard to today's educational reforms. "What is educational reform? It is teaching people to change." Mr Tao held that educators should receive an education first, and become model students through their own knowledge, and their own words and actions. He advocated that teachers "teach themselves what they teach others," and hoped that we could train a group of teachers who have both ability and political integrity. At the end of 1927, when the Anhui Public School was founded, he said unequivocally, "It is most important that students and the teaching and administrative staff share hardships and difficulties, live together, create a

school spirit together, and abide by the school regulations together. I believe this will improve middle school education and will be the key to education at all schools." He often reminded teachers to be careful to give free rein to the students' subjective initiative, and that it is important to show empathy, understanding, and concern for one's students. "In their lives together, teachers must strive for progress. Good students often like to compete with the knowledge and accomplishments of their teachers. This is what is meant by "the younger generation will surpass the older generation." We must actively want our students to one day run ahead of us. This is our hope, and what the younger generation deserves. Mr Tao also analyzed three kinds of educators that are common in history, pointing out: "One kind of educator is a politician, and only knows how to seek support from those in power, control others, and deliver rhetoric. Another kind of educator is a scholar, and only knows how to read, teach, and write articles. Another is an experienced educator, and only knows how to act blindly, be single-minded, and do...do...do. All of these educators are undesirable. Real educators should 'dare to explore undiscovered truths, dare to enter uncivilized frontiers.' By 'daring to explore undiscovered truths,' we will expand our intellects. In creating initiative, our vision should be deep; in expanding our intellects, our vision should be far-reaching." These words of Mr Tao still inspire today's comrades who work on the educational front.

While Mr Tao laid stress on teaching and educating people, he also encouraged students to take control of their lives, giving free rein to the student's subjective initiative. "Today's students will be tomorrow's citizens; the citizens that are needed in the future are the students that should be trained today." He often warned students that it is most important to have a mind that cannot be abused by wealth and rank, diverted by poverty, nor subdued by force. For this kind of mind, one must have independence in one's will, thinking, and life, as well as muscles and bones that can endure labor, a constitution that can endure hunger, and a body that can endure fatigue in order to produce an unshakeable foundation. Mr Tao, who places the concept of taking control of one's life in the category of moral education, on a par equal in importance to intellectual education and physical education, advocates taking control of one's life to achieve "a life full of health and happiness, labor, science, and art, and a life that will transform society." He warned students, "Do not regard taking control of one's life as an instrument of power," or as a means to "mistakenly control people." He opposed the methods of the past of studying useless books in useless ways, and advocated that students in the new period use useful "living" books to produce, experiment, construct, revolutionize, and set up a modern society that is both beloved and respected."

A full 40 years have gone by, and Mr Tao's hope of the "dawning" of Chinese education arrived long ago, and his unfulfilled great aspiration of "recruiting 1 million comrades, starting 1 million schools, and transforming 1 million villages" has long ago been realized. He came into this work "holding his heart in his hands, and left without even a half a blade of grass." He was a paragon of virtue and learning and will live forever in the hearts of the people.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LIU BINYAN'S 'SECOND CATEGORY OF LOYALTY' DISCUSSED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by Chen Zhongji [7115 0022 4746]: "Second Category of Loyalty Should Be Favorably Entertained"]

[Text] Loyal has been since time immemorial, and still is a virtue.

In his long reportage entitled "Second Category of Loyalty," Liu Binyan [0491 6333 7159] described how Chen Shizhong [7115 0013 1813] wrote to the Party Central Committee in the early 1960's, criticizing the "leftist" policies and theories, calling for democratic methods of political policy decisions, and opposing subjective and arbitrary decisions and blind political obedience; and how he was later thrown into jail. The reportage concluded with these words: "Loyalty, like beauty, is also of different categories. Working hard without complaint, honesty, obedience, and never expressing a different opinion constitute the first category of loyalty." The second category of loyalty, "as shown by Chen Shizhong, who earnestly practiced what he advocated, did not please many people, and he had to pay the price with his freedom, happiness and even his life."

People had to "pay a heavy price" for the second category of loyalty. This was what happened in the past, but is by no means rare at present. The factory director, and concurrently party branch secretary of a sugar refinery in a certain county of Guangdong knew nothing about production management, but was in the habit of ordering people around. An engineer offered his views for a reform, and his action was taken by the factory director as an "affront to leadership." Thus for several years, the engineer had to "sit on a cold bench." How unjust is this!

In the course of modernization, we not only need the first category of loyalty of the Lei Feng [7191 0023] type; we also cannot be without the second category of loyalty. Without this category of loyalty, neither a state nor a society can flourish. This is dangerous. If a political party or a leader cannot tolerate dissenting views, none of them may remain long in office. That is why the second category of loyalty should be favorably entertained.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

MEETING WITH LIU BINYAN RECALLED

Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by Qian Yusui [6929 3768 2979]: "What a Chinese Heart; Impressions of Liu Binyan"]

[Excerpts] His candidness, his accomplishment, his temperament, his humor, and his logic left an indelible impression.

Late in the autumn of 1984, braving a torrential rain, I went with one of my colleagues to call on Comrade Liu Binyan [0491 6333 7159] in Beijing. At that time he was just under great pressure, and though it was our first meeting, he did not conceal it when he said: "I am in a bad spot; did you hear about it?"

In a very short time I found out that Comrade Liu Binyan was not at all of an impenetrable depth; he was very much an ordinary man, artless and candid, who always revealed his inner thoughts to his comrades as innocently as a child.

The situation in China frequently changes dramatically. Several months later, at the All China Writers' Congress, Liu Binyan, second only to Ba Jin [1572 6855] in the number of votes cast for him, was elected vice chairman of the Writers' Congress. This was the will of the people that must not be altered. As we called on him to congratulate him, he only lightly remarked: "In China it is still customary to value name above substance. With a good name in front, it may be easier to parade around in the outside world..." "Then also, I have for years had no response to my application for a telephone. Now, having a title, which gets me up to I don't know what rank, I may get my telephone," he joked about his title.

Once, at a meeting of distinguished journalists, Liu Binyan was naturally again the central figure. When people got to discuss the obstacles to reform, Liu cleverly expressed well the whole situation: "The problem is now that the various sectors don't work as a cohesive entity, there are upper and lower, right and left, vertical and horizontal factions, so that it becomes unavoidable that some particular items are attended to while others are lost sight of, and that contradictions arise one after the other." With this remark he hit the nail on the head, and everybody at the meeting nodded again and again to show agreement. The articles he writes are simple and honest. With a few words he incisively points up the contradictions and shocks people,

shakes them up, and evokes strong reactions. That is strength in logic. Once, when he analyzed the reasons why some cadres are degenerating, his questions left no doubt about his implied meaning: "Why would these cadres degenerate? Isn't there some problem with the system of controls? Isn't there some problems with the social conditions?" It is precisely with this kind of questioning that his style of discussing things shows a thought-provoking logic, since it reflects the embryonic movements of the current era, and also has foresight well ahead of his time. The mentality and the logical methods of traditional Chinese culture are expressed in the saying: "Show respect for spiritual beings but keep aloof of them," i.e. to "respect" them and at the same time "to keep aloof from them." Real life is full of violations of the law of identity. There is lack of public openness and of rigorous and thorough scientific thinking. Sometimes one sector is utilized while another is left in obscurity, or the front side is used while the reverse is concealed, or the bright side is utilized while the dark side is hidden from view; there is discrepancy between outer appearance and inner substance, actions do not match words, and there is even deceitful double-dealing. If once in a while someone stands up and publicly and in a logical manner analyzes the social phenomena, there is bound to occur a sharp clash between the two modes of thinking, causing a mighty uproar. I believe this must be the reason why Liu Binyan had to endure so many tribulations in the last few years.

He has great respect for man, and respects all who respect man, and has no regard for titles. The good characters in his writings are mostly small people, who have been pushed around, humiliated, and harmed. They all display the "loyalty of a second kind." He himself had suffered 20 years of unjustified persecution, but while licking his wounds, he expresses his sympathy for the weak ones and his compassion for them, and he cries out because of the injustice inflicted on them. The abundance of startling material shocks him and disturbs him. He knows the limitations of his own strength and selects only the typical cases to weave them into article upon article of soul-stirring tales of blood and tears. He is calling out loud for human rights, human dignity, the value of man. He once spoke about his dislike for football matches, especially Chinese teams playing against foreign teams. "It pains me to see these short young fellows born around the 1960's enter a test of strength with those big hulks of foreigners; it is like measuring the qualities of two different nations!"

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BRIEFS

DISCIPLINE INSPECTION WORK CONFERENCE--The All-China Law and Discipline Inspection Conference, which ended in Beijing 27 October, passed the resolution: Inspection organs at all levels shall energetically strengthen their leadership in law and discipline inspection to ensure a breakthrough in law and discipline inspection work. The conference demanded of inspection organs at all levels that they, first, make a conscientious study and put into effect the "CPC Central Committee Resolution on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Spiritual Civilization," that they effectively shoulder the responsibility of protecting a high degree of socialist democracy, and give high status to law and discipline inspection work. Secondly, that they investigate and appropriately deal with all large and important cases. There are three types of cases that should be prominently dealt with in the coming year: 1) Cases of serious violation of the personal and democratic rights of citizens, such as compelling testimony through torture, illegal detention, etc.; 2) Cases of dereliction of duty; 3) Important cases of accidents for which someone bears responsibility. Thirdly, that they consciously uphold the leadership of the party and in dealing with cases seek support and assistance from the party committees. They shall at the same time maintain independence in the exercise of their powers of inspection, they shall eliminate obstructions to their work, and handle all matters in accordance with law. [Excerpts] [Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 29 Oct 86 p 1] 9808

PRC MAIL REACHES TAIWAN FOR FIRST TIME--Shenyang SHENYANG RIBAO in Chinese, 8 December 1986 page 4, reports the recent mailing of a postcard in Shanghai by a foreign traveler to Taipei that took 23 days but finally reached its designated addressee. What is unusual is the fact that it had two postmarks, one by the postal service in Shanghai and one by that in Taipei. Whatever negligence there might have been on the part of the Taipei postal worker who handled the postcard, a Taipei postal official acknowledged afterwards that this was the first time that someone in Taiwan has received mail originating in mainland China. (Extracted from KEXUE WANBAO [SCIENCE EVENING NEWS], 6 Nov 86) [Editorial Report]

CSO: 4005/333

## NEW TRENDS IN ECONOMIC CRIME REPORTED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 18 Oct 86 p 1

[Article by Jiang De [5592 1795] and Nian Wenshuo [1628 2429 4311]: "A New Trend of Economic Crimes Which Deserves Vigilance"]

[Excerpt] Because of the intensified attacks on economic crimes, some criminals have changed their tactics in criminal activities. Corruption, swindling, speculation and profiteering in the guise of "contracting" have become the trend. According to statistics of surveys on the suburbs of Wusi City, Wusi County, and Jiangyin County alone, 32 similar cases, 31 percent of all economic cases in the same period, were detected. In the name of "contracting" with a certain enterprises or departments, or by colluding with the insiders in crimes committed individually or collectively, they have in a very short period brought losses to the state or the collectives in amounts of millions or tens of millions of yuan.

The system of contracted economic responsibility in various forms is an effective means to stop the practice of eating from the same pot, to arouse the enthusiasm of the broad masses, and to revitalize the enterprises. However, because of the lack of a clear understanding of this system on the part of some economic department leaders, or certain problems in management, the way to implement the system leaves loopholes for the offenders.

Some units have turned over everything of the enterprises or departments including their manpower, financial and material resources and policy decision power in a "package deal" to the contractors, and relaxed their control and supervision over these contractors. As a result, the contractors consider everything their own, to be appropriated at will.

In the quest for profits, some localities have readily trusted the so-called "capable persons," and employed those who have been released from jail, or have completed their education through labor, or even those out on bail for medical treatment. These person returned to their evil ways as soon as their legal status was restored. Xixia township of Wujin County, for example, knew nothing about Xie Jinhua [6200 6955 5478], who was out on bail for medical treatment, and yet contracted to him a trade warehouse. As a result, Xie made more than 500,000 yuan in only a few months by swindling, speculation and profiteering.

Some units, not fully understanding what contracting means, believed that it should benefit the contractor, who can only be rewarded but not punished. As a result, there is the phenomenon of benefits for all, but losses for the state. Their wrong belief further emboldens the offenders.

The tactics used by economic offenders in the guise of contractors are mainly as follows:

1. Corruption by contracting. For example, a certain plant contracted a truck convoy to the convoy leader. By reporting false expenses, getting paid with fraudulent means, and jacking up the costs, the convoy leader made more than 20,000 yuan in only 9 months.
2. Swindling through contracting. Crimes of this type are frequently committed by those with a criminal past. Contracting has given them the mantles of managers or factory directors, and provided the conditions for their swindling. The Xie Jinhua mentioned earlier was given a 15-year sentence in 1983, and later released on bail for medical treatment. Then he became the manager of a warehouse under contract and again continued his swindling.
3. Speculation and profiteering through contracting. Wang Yongquan [3769 8673 3123], to whom the warehouse of trust and trade of Huang Tu Supply and Marketing Cooperative in Jiangyin County was contracted, took advantage of his authority to engage in speculation and profiteering. In 4 months, he illegally sold more than 1,000 tons of rolled steel worth more than 9.9 million yuan, and gained a profit of more than 90,000 yuan.

There have also been instances of blackmailing, extortion, larceny, and so forth with "contracting" as the means of law violations.

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## IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS IN ANHUI

Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 16 Nov 86 p 4

[By staff correspondent: "Anhui Soon To Launch Inspection of Implementation of Policy Toward Intellectuals; Head of Provincial Party Committee's Office for Implementation of Policy Toward Intellectuals Replies to Correspondent's Questions"]

[Text] According to the unified disposition of the CPC Central Committee's Organization Department, Anhui Province began in November an inspection of the implementation of the policy toward intellectuals. I went to interview the head of the provincial party committee's office for implementation of policy toward the intellectuals to ask certain questions relating to this matter:

Question: Who are targets in the implementation of our policy toward the intellectuals?

Answer: The Central Committee's liaison team for work with intellectuals affairs has tentatively designated as intellectuals within the scope of statistical work: state cadres of technical secondary school or higher educational level or personnel ranked as technicians or of higher ranks, as well as teachers of middle and elementary schools (not including teachers at nongovernmental schools). We believe that personnel of the above three categories, and at the same time cases left over by history which present the problem that the said policy had not yet been applied to them, are targets for implementing our intellectuals policy. However, effective and appropriate resolution must also be found, as a demand of our intellectuals policy, for some problematic cases left over by history where cadres are not intellectuals in the statistical sense, as they have no diplomas or professional titles, but have certain technical skills or specialized knowledge.

Question: The CPC Central Committee has demanded that implementing the intellectuals policy be basically completed before the opening of the 13th CPC National Congress. Can you explain the extent of this task?

Answer: Implementing our intellectuals policy, which the CPC Central Committee demands be basically completed before the opening of the 13th CPC National Congress, covers mainly the intellectuals problems left over by history since the founding of the PRC (including cases before and during the "cultural revolution"), which had been mistakenly handled under the "Leftist" ideological leadership and for which our policy must now be implemented.

Not falling within the scope of cases for which the Central Committee demands settlement before the opening of the 13th CPC Congress are problems relating to the normal work of the intellectuals, such as updating of knowledge, resolving housing difficulties, spouses having to live apart, improving work and living conditions, readjusting cases of people working in positions for which they are not trained, inducing well-qualified intellectuals to join the party, appointment to specialized technical positions, etc.

Question: Would you please enlarge on the substantial tasks to be completed within the said time limit?

Answer: They are of eight kinds:

1. Rehabilitation and redress in all cases of unjust, false, and wrong accusations, carried out on the principle of seeking truth from facts. In the process of reexamination and arriving at final conclusions, the party concerned must be heard in person. Straightening out the relevant documents as prescribed by policy (including the documents on innocent relatives and children implicated) and effectively dealing with the aftermath of such cases.
2. In cases where intellectuals are employed in an irrational manner due to faulty dispositions, we have to effect necessary readjustments in accordance with policy and with regard to needs.
3. In cases of spouses being forced to live apart due to unjust, false, and wrong accusations, an intellectual who originally had worked in a city and was mistakenly sent to work in a rural area and had married during that time, the census record of the person himself, of his or her spouse, and of their children shall be appropriately adjusted as prescribed by policy.
4. Salary and wages that had been withheld or reduced during the "cultural revolution" in cases of unjust, false, and wrong accusations, must be made up, or promised in writing to be made up in installments. If due to being wrongly labelled as "rightists," or to unjust actions before the "cultural revolution," an intellectual, after rehabilitation and redress, has genuine difficulties in maintaining himself, he shall be paid an appropriate subsidy. Where obviously out of bias exceptionally low salaries and wages had been paid, such cases shall be resolved, or a plan for their resolution decided upon, in the course of salary and wage reform, gradual adjustment of salaries and wages, and the institution of the employment system for specialized technical positions, prescribed in the relevant documents of the General Office of the Central Committee.
5. Property confiscated during the "cultural revolution" shall, according to regulations, be returned to the former owner, or he shall be paid its value or the price at which the property has been sold. If there is no way to recover the original item that had been confiscated, the case may be resolved according to relevant regulations by paying an appropriate compensation or by providing suitable substitute objects.

6. Private houses that had been confiscated or encroached upon by squeezing out the owner during the "cultural revolution" shall be vacated and returned to the former owner. Where it is not feasible to vacate the houses, such methods as purchasing them at a set price, returning a substitute house, leasing the house at market rental, or promising in writing that the house will be returned within a certain time, shall be resorted to with the consent of the owner.

7. Where policy implementation is required and the person involved has left the place or unit in question, or has died, cases shall be resolved according to relevant policy provisions.

8. Anyone who had been considered an economic criminal and suffered unjust punishment due to having worked at another place in his spare time, provided technical services or rendered consultations for rational remuneration, shall have his case reexamined and rectified in the spirit of Articles 3 and 9 of the "CPC Central Committee Resolution on the Reform of the S&T System."

Question: What are objectives and demands in the inspection of units which have basically completed implementation of the policy toward the intellectuals and resolved the problems left over by history?

Answer: Inspections will expose further contradictions, detect unfinished cases, stop up loopholes, and will vigorously push implementation of policy in areas where problems have not yet found their resolution. The overall demand is to see to it that implementation of policy toward the intellectuals and resolution of problems left over by history are basically completed, that problems have been resolved according to the principle of seeking truth from facts and in accordance with policy, that cases are not left only partially resolved, and that all this work has been performed in a way which can stand the test of history.

Question: When will implementation of the policy toward the intellectuals and resolution of problems left over by history be completed in Anhui Province?

Answer: The provincial party committee demands that implementation of the policy toward the intellectuals and the resolution of problems left over by history be basically completed in Anhui Province before the end of this year. Up to now, inspection has been completed in 40 counties (municipalities), among them Tongling City and Qingyang, where implementation of the policy toward intellectuals and the tasks left over by history have been basically completed. To truly ensure perfect execution from start to finish and effective completion of implementing the intellectuals policy and resolution of all problems left over by history, the provincial party committee's implementation of policy guiding team will dispatch inspection teams, starting from the mid-week of November, to carry out thorough inspections at units that have basically completed all their tasks in this respect. All inspections can be basically completed before the end of the year, and any unfinished work can be wound up during the first quarter of next year.

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## PARTY POLICY ON INTELLECTUALS REVIEWED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 31 Oct 86 p 1

[Article by Xin Guangqi [6580 0342 3825] and Wang Baolai [3769 1405 0171]: "Shanghai Planning Comprehensive Check-ups on Solution of Problems Left Over from the Past Concerning Intellectuals"]

[Excerpts] At the "Shanghai Municipal Meeting for Checking on the Implementation of Policies toward Intellectuals" held yesterday, Ceng Qinghong [2582 1987 3193], deputy secretary of Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, and head of the leading group for intellectual work under the municipal party committee, said: The municipality will conduct comprehensive check-ups mainly on the solution of problems left over from the past and on the implementation of policies toward intellectuals in order that the intellectuals could get rid of their burden and devote their energy to the four modernizations.

The check-ups will be conducted on the following three categories of people: professional personnel with technical titles, teachers of elementary and secondary schools, and state cadres with school backgrounds above the secondary vocational school level. The main purpose of the check-ups is to solve the problems left over from the past concerning those intellectuals who were wrongly charged under the "leftist" guiding thought after the founding of the People's Republic.

During the check-ups, all units should pay attention to the following questions: 1) Whether all the cases of unjust, false, and wrong charges have been realistically redressed; whether the persons concerned have been informed of the results of the check-ups on them; and whether their dossiers (including those of their sons, daughters, and other dependents involved) have been readjusted according to policies with remedial measures taken. 2) Whether remedial measures have been taken according to the policies, if an intellectual has been put to improper use as a result of a wrong verdict. 3) As a result of unjust, false, and wrong charges, husbands and wives may have been forced to live in separate places. For the same reason, some intellectuals, originally working in cities, have been sent to the countryside, where they got married. In such cases, has the registration of residence for their wives and children been straightened out according to policies? 4) Because of unjust, false and wrong charges made during the "Great Cultural Revolution," some intellectuals' wages may have been withheld

or reduced. In such cases, have their withheld wages been paid or their losses been compensated; or have the intellectuals been given promissory notes for these wages or loss compensations to be paid by installments? If some intellectuals have been wrongly classified as rightists and are experiencing difficulties in their livelihood after rehabilitation, have they been given suitable aid? If some intellectuals are obviously under-paid, have their wages been gradually raised during the wage reform according to the stipulations of the central committee documents. Have these problems been solved through the system of appointment to professional or technical posts, or have plans been made for the solution? 5) Have the properties confiscated during the "Great Cultural Revolution" been restituted or paid for at fair prices? If these properties have been lost and cannot possibly be recovered, have the owners been paid in cash or in kind? 6) If some private houses have been confiscated or forcibly occupied by others, have these houses been vacated and returned to their owners. If the houses cannot possibly be vacated, have they been, subject to the owners' agreement, purchased at fair prices, replaced, or leased? Or have some documents been executed for the houses to be returned at specified dates? 7) If the persons to whom the policies apply have been transferred away from their own region or unit, or have died, has the problem been solved according to the policy stipulations? 8) If some intellectuals engaging in sparetime jobs of providing technical services or technical consultation and obtaining their legitimate remuneration for these jobs, have been charged with economic crimes and wrongly sentenced, has the verdicts been reversed according to the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee Concerning Reform of the Scientific and Technological System"?

The sample surveys, check-ups, and reviews to be carried out by this leading group and the various departments, commissions, staff offices, and districts, on the implementation of policies toward intellectuals will be completed before the end of April 1987.

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CSO: 4005/187

## EFFECTIVE DEMOCRATIC SUPERVISION DISCUSSED IN FUJIAN

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by Wang Jinbiao [3769 6855 6977], Party School of the Fujian Provincial CPC Committee: "Effective Democratic Supervision; A Critical Link in Efforts to Radically Improve the Party's Style of Work"]

[Excerpts] Many articles are now analyzing the reasons why no radical improvement has been possible in the party's style of work and in the general mood of society, mentioning such reasons as failure to eradicate all influences of the "cultural revolution," pernicious influences of feudalism, invasion of decadent bourgeois ideology following the opening up of the country, low quality of party members, insufficient inner-party education, imperfect legal system, lax discipline, etc. These are all, no doubt, reasons why it has been impossible to improve the party's style of work and the general mood of society. But what is the main reason? What is the crux of the matter? These questions are well worth our probing and exploring.

It is already more than 10 years since the smashing of the "gang of four," and the party has done much to eliminate the evil effects of the "cultural revolution," and in this respect indeed achieved marked successes. It is not realistic, therefore, to blame the influence of the "cultural revolution" for unhealthy tendencies in the party's style of work and for decadent phenomena in society.

Pernicious influences of feudalism did exist during the Yanan days, in the early and middle years of the 1950's, and during the early years of the 1960's, and we even have to admit that they were at that time even more serious than nowadays. But why were the party's style of work and the general mood of society in those days good, or comparatively good?

During the "cultural revolution," China was almost completely closed to all international intercourse, but the party's style of work and the general mood of society deteriorated to unprecedented depths. How can we, therefore, blame the party's style of work and the general mood of society on opening the country to the outside world?

In the last few years, much work was done in comprehensive party rectification and strengthening of inner-party education, but the results were far from

ideal. Education is important, but education is not all-powerful. If there is only education without a system of strict supervision and examination, the result can well be imagined.

Relatively speaking, our legal system is still insufficiently developed, but speaking of conditions within the party, there are new party statutes, certain guidelines on inner-party political life, and several other necessary rules and regulations. As regards the state's legal system, though still not yet sufficiently complete, rules have been laid down and laws have been promulgated in all important and basic areas. The main problem is now rather that laws are not followed, not strictly enforced, and their violations not prosecuted.

There has to be strictness in running the party and also in running the state; what strictness should have priority? First and foremost there has to be strictness in supervision.

Supervision is an objective demand of developing inner-party democracy and socialist democracy in depth. We have by now gradually built up a supervisory system for certain specialized agencies. Establishment of these systems is of great significance for the normal operation of party and state organs and the normal operation of socialist enterprises. However, the establishment of a democratic system of supervision by the broad masses has been relatively neglected.

In 1945, Huang Yanpei [7806 3508 1014] once asked Comrade Mao Zedong: "In Chinese and foreign history, a dynasty or a political party is good at the start, deteriorates later, and finally "good government perishes with the demise of the good people who started it." This has really become something of a periodic cycle in history. Your communist party has now taken over the country; will it be able to escape from this historical cycle?" To which Mao Zedong replied: "We have already found a new way out. We can escape from this periodic cycle. This new way is democracy." He added: "If only the people are allowed to rise and exercise supervision over government, government will not dare to slacken. If only each person will assume his or her responsibility, it will not happen that "good government will perish with the demise of the good people who started it." Unfortunately, after coming to power, the CPC was not able to pay this matter sufficient attention; it has never truly "allowed the people to rise and supervise government." This is the most important reason why it is impossible at this late hour to radically improve the party's style of work and the general mood of society.

Supervision by the masses can assume a great variety of forms. It requires continuous summing up of experiences and continuous development in substance during actual practice, and should then be institutionalized.

1. We must have the institutionalized guarantee of free speech. The constitution bestows the right of free speech on all citizens. The minimal condition for supervision is having freedom to express opinions. However, there must be certain occasions and channels for the expression of opinions, and certain institutional guarantees, otherwise, the so-called freedom of speech will be nothing but empty words.

2. We must reform our cadre system, and place the cadres under the supervision of the masses, and have the masses decide on the removal or retention of cadres.

The employment of cadres must be changed from lifetime employment to a system of election for certain terms of office. The elections must fully ensure representation of the will of the electorate. The masses should have the right to elect and also to dismiss cadres. Although party regulations and state law contain provisions on the dismissal of cadres, there are no guarantees in corresponding specific institutions or measures to that effect, and actual enforcement is practically impossible.

Public opinion polls would be a form and means of supervision of cadres by the masses. The result of public opinion polls must not be kept secret. It must be clearly prescribed that those who do not pass in the opinion polls (i.e. who do not score at least 50 percent in their favor) must not be employed. If more than half of the people cast votes of no confidence, the cadre in question must retire and another person must be newly elected.

To have candidates examined and selected in secret by the leadership is a system of which the disadvantages outweigh the advantages; it must be discontinued. The system of selecting cadres must change from "judging by looks" to a system of "judging by competitive performance"; whoever shows greater capability and shows greater achievements in his career should be selected for a leadership position.

We must have legal provisions that will put a stop to "inbreeding," which engenders many complex "networks of personal relations" and "protective levels," and is detrimental to supervision by the masses.

3. We must improve and perfect the system of letters and visits from the masses. We must have legal provisions on how to deal with questions raised in letters from and interviews with people.

4. We must intensify supervision by means of public opinion. The present newspapers and periodicals should prepare special columns and enlarge their issues to reflect opinions and demands from the masses.

5. We must have all democratic parties and labor unions, as well as all people's organizations, such as the Communist Youth League, the Women's Federation, and the staff and workers' congresses exercise supervisory functions.

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## GENERATION OF SPOILED COLLEGE STUDENTS DISCUSSED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Oct 86 p 3

[Article by Yang Xinyuan [2799 2450 0337]: "A Spoiled Generation and Perplexed Parents"]

[Text] Since September many of the country's newspapers reported that when new students arrived at their universities, they came escorted by heads of their families. The old parents had gone to much trouble to smarten up their children, while the young university students had stood by with folded arms. One mother said that when her 18-year old "darling daughter" went off, she did not even know where her own clothes were. One father said that his "young gentleman of a son" cannot even wash his own clothes. Many students made no secret of it that they had never done any housework before coming to university, and they were not sure whether they would be able to manage by themselves at school with studies and all the necessary chores. According to one newspaper commentator: "This spoiled generation has us all worried!"

The obvious inability of certain university students to manage by themselves is not without cause or reason. It is a phenomenon that points to certain social and historical causes, a fact which is indeed food for thought.

University students who this year set foot in the institutions of higher learning were born in the middle or later years of the 1960's. When they started in elementary school, the dark clouds over China had already dissipated, and as society began to yearn for knowledge, a general "craze for diplomas" had quietly set in. The road that many parents planned for their children was "key elementary school--key middle school--university." In order to have their children's names appear on the list of successful graduates, the parents would put up with all kinds of hardships, and the entire family machinery would turn around the children as axle centers. The painful exertions would exceed by far what Mengzi's mother did in antiquity when she moved house three times to benefit the upbringing of her son. In this family atmosphere, children never had to do any work, but had to concentrate completely on their studies. The result was that their scholarly achievements were pushed up, but their ability to live independently declined. The wish of parents to have their children go to college is a good thing, but is it their only responsibility to have their children get university diplomas?

Of course, there is a considerable number of parents who do not want to raise their children to become pretentious brats, only fit for bookish studies, but how to raise them is a perplexing problem. These children had been the much favored children of their era, and they happened to grow up in a bright period of Chinese politics and a period of economic prosperity. As families improved economically, certain orthodox values in parental education of children, such as the old "magic weapon" of "recall past suffering and think over the source of present happiness" have become ancient history to today's children, while nobody knows where the present methods of education at home are. In the end, many parents are perfectly satisfied as long as the children do well in their studies and do not go astray. It seems they cannot find time to educate their children in such virtues as diligence and frugality. Guo Moro [6753 3106 5387] said: "Living in too perfect an environment without conscious tempering, a person may develop like a flower in a greenhouse that cannot withstand wind or frost and even less the heat of the sun." Those university students, who are incapable of managing by themselves, are they not like the flowers that cannot withstand the sun?

Although we have so far only an inkling that certain university students are incapable of managing by themselves, it reminds us: The question of what new concepts are to be used and what new methods to be employed in bringing up the next generation is of great urgency and must be placed on the order of the day.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON JIANGXI'S WU GUANZHENG

Nanchang JIANGXI RIBAO in Chinese 29 Sep 86 p 3

[Text] Resolution of the Standing Committee of the Sixth Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress Appointed Wu Guangzheng [0702 1351 2973] Acting Governor of Jiangxi Province (Resolution passed at the 19th Session of the Standing Committee of the 6th People's Congress, 28 September 1986)"]

At its 19th Session, the Standing Committee of the 6th Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress passed a resolution, proposed by the Provincial CPC Party Committee, to appoint Wu Guanzheng acting governor of the People's Government of Jiangxi Province.

Short Biographical Note on Wu Guanzheng

Wu Guanzheng, male, born August 1938, of Han nationality, native of Yuqian in Jiangxi Province, of postgraduate student educational level, joined the CPC in March of 1962 and is now alternate member of the 12th CPC Central Committee and deputy secretary of the Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee.

From 1959 to 1965 he studied at the Department of Dynamics of Qinghua University, specializing in thermodynamic measurements and automatic controls. From 1965 to 1968 he was graduate student at the Department of Dynamics, Qinghua University, and after graduation worked for the Gedian Industrial Chemicals Plant in Wuhan, Hubei Province, as technician, deputy head of the plant's technical section, and was deputy chairman of the plant's revolutionary committee. From 1975 on, he was deputy chairman of the Wuhan Municipal Science Committee, Hubei Province, and concurrently director of the Municipal Center for Engineering S&T, secretary of the party committee, and standing committee member of the Wuhan municipal party committee. From 1983 on, he was secretary of the Wuhan Municipal Party Committee, Hubei Province, and mayor of Wuhan.

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## JIANGXI VILLAGE-LEVEL PARTY RECTIFICATION WORK

Nanchang JIANGXI RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 86 p 1

[Text] There are presently 14,300 party branches in the administrative villages of Jiangxi Province, with over 41,400 party members; the first group of party branches has started party rectification.

To ensure a perfect and thorough party rectification at the village level, experiments were first carried out from June of this year in 1,053 village party branches. In mid-September, village-level party rectification symposia were held at the province and at the prefectures (municipalities), where experiences gathered in the village-level party rectification experiments were reviewed and exchanged, and where studies were made for comprehensive village-level party rectification.

To assist village party branches in effectively carrying out party rectification, over 32,000 cadres were transferred from village administrative organs and enterprise and industrial units to serve as propagandists, instructors, and liaison personnel, having two or three allotted to each village. This contingent of personnel transferred from various localities within the province received concentrated training at the county and village levels. At the same time, village branch party secretaries and party committee members underwent concentrated training. To guide village-level party rectification, some personnel were enlisted to conscientiously compile material, of which over 500,000 pamphlets were printed.

Village-level party rectification of the first group throughout the province had the further characteristic that it was conducted on the principle of giving priority to ideological education, and to have education by positive measures permeate party rectification from start to end. In adopting a large variety of educational patterns, the rural party members were given education in theory, essential ideas, party spirit, party style of work, topical policies, and the legal system. Efforts were expended to raise political consciousness among the broad masses of rural party members, to have them play the role of exemplary vanguard models and play leading roles. At the same time, eminent attention was given to rectifying the work style of the party, strictly and conscientiously investigating into the activities of a small number of party members and cadres who are wont to use their powers for

personal gain and to seriously violate law and discipline, while further attention was given to rectifying unhealthy trends in the rural areas.

During party rectification, all localities should make strengthening of the buildup of rural basic-level party organizations their new starting point in party building in the new era, and effectively resolve the problems of ideology, style of work, organization, and discipline of basic-level rural party organizations where these are found incompatible with the state of our rural reform. Various localities are now engaged in reorganizing and adjusting rural party branch committees where such are found incompetent to serve as leaders in party work. According to incomplete statistics of 11 prefectures and municipalities, over 2,440 party branch committees throughout the province have been reorganized and replenished. Among these, 1,726 incomplete and incongruous party branch committees were reorganized, readjustments were made in the positions of 928 party branch secretaries, and over 700 vacancies of party branch committees were filled, thus strengthening the militant strength of the party branches, so that they may effectively function as a fighting force in building up the material and spiritual civilization in the rural areas.

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## RIGOROUS ENFORCEMENT OF REGULATIONS ON PARTY LIFE IN JINAN

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Nov 86 p 1

[Text] In the course of its efforts to correct party work style and to rectify work style in state organs, the General Office of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress tightened up on the organizational system of party life, thereby raising the quality of life, also promoting and strengthening a better party work style in state organs.

Aiming at such past conditions as infrequent activities of the party branch and party groups, absences of personnel from meetings, insufficient criticism meetings within the party, etc., the party committee in the General Office of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress, in accordance with the demands of the "Party Constitution" and through a process of several discussions from the lower levels upward, formulated a "Resolution on Tightening Up on the Organizational System of Party Life." The resolution prescribes that each party member, whether high or low, must participate in the organizational life of the party. If a person is unable to attend for good reasons, he has to apply for a leave of absence. Anyone away for more than 2 months, shall submit a written report to the party branch or party group. Records should, furthermore, be conscientiously made of party group meetings, and a report on the actual conditions of organizational life should be submitted every quarter. Since the latter half of this year, the leading comrades of the Standing Committee and the General Office of the Provincial People's Congress may all in their capacities as ordinary party members attend the activities of the party groups and party branches. They should also counteract the individualism, liberalism, and haggling over duties and pay by some party members and cadres, by arranging for all party members to review in the course of daily party activities their party oath and study the "Profess Party Spirit; Rectify Party Work Style" materials on advanced deeds prepared by the provincial party committee. In a variety of forms, they should effectively institute self-education and mutual education of all party members, and, at the same time, resume and develop the excellent tradition of inner-party criticism and self-criticism, and tighten up on the organizational system of party life.

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## INTERVIEW WITH SHANGHAI MAYOR RECOUNTED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Nov 86 pp 1,2

[Article by Li Zongshi [2621 0112 1395] and Dong Qiang [5516 1730]: "Six Municipal People's Congress Deputies Wrote Mayor Jiang Zemin [3068 3419 3046] for Interview"]

[Excerpts] To achieve a meeting of minds and mutual understanding, six deputies of the municipal people's congress recently wrote to Mayor Jiang Zemin for an interview hoping thereby to better understand the work done by the mayor and the municipality. In the afternoon of 30 October, the mayor met these deputies and views were freely exchanged on a wide range of topics. On hearing this news, our correspondents immediately called on these deputies.

Desire for Heart-to-heart Talk with the Mayor

The six deputies who wrote to the mayor were: Yin Haiqi [3009 3189 0967], professor of Shanghai Textile Industry Specialized Academy; Xue Zhilin [5641 1807 7792] and Wang Yongling [3769 3057 0109], research workers of Shanghai Silicate Research Institute; Zhao Pengnian [6392 1756 1628], Yang Qianzhi [2799 0241 1807], and Xu Yuansen [1776 0337 2773], research workers of Shanghai Metallurgy Research Institute. Recently, when they gathered together to talk about the separate inspections conducted by the deputies with their credentials, they felt that except hearing the mayor's work report at the Municipal People's Congress once a year, they normally had little opportunity to meet the mayor for an exchange of information and ideas. They held that if they could have a heart-to-heart talk with the mayor so that they could better understand the work of the mayor and the municipal government and then relay to him the views of the people, the people's congress would be able to play a more effective role in promoting political democracy. Then after repeated deliberations, they sent a joint letter to Mayor Jiang Zemin requesting an interview.

Mayor Jiang attached great importance to this letter, and immediately asked his secretary to arrange an appointment. In the afternoon of 30 October, Yin Haiqi, Xue Zhilin, Wang Yongling, Zhao Pengnian, Yang Qiangzhi, and Li Renjie [2621 0088 2638] (deputy of municipal people's congress and secretary of Changning District substituting for Xu Yuansen who happened to be on service

travel), held their talk with Mayor Jiang in the municipal government guest house.

The talk began with the deputies' expression of gratitude with the appointment arranged by the mayor despite his high pressure work. The mayor thanked them and said: I am very glad to have the opportunity to exchange information and ideas on the situation in a heart-to-heart talk. I would like to know the questions you have in mind before talking about my views.

#### What Has the Mayor Done Since Assuming Office

The deputies wanted the mayor to talk about the major tasks he had performed since he came to office.

The mayor said: Comrade Rui Xingwen [5360 2622 2429] and I have worked in Shanghai for 1 year and 4 months. Upon our arrival here, our first job was to get acquainted with the situation by holding symposiums and going down to the basic levels. We then went to the districts, suburbs, and counties, the commissions and staff offices, more than 10 industry bureaus, more than 50 plants, and some of the universities, secondary schools, and elementary schools, hospitals, research institutes and cultural units. We also visited the railway station under construction, the Huangpujiang tunnel, and the railway line at the outer ring. To learn about the "difficulty of riding on a vehicle," we also tried out several bus routes, such as routes 46, 71, and 21, and even watched the operation of the dispatching office and bus stations of routes 24 and 15. Of course, it is still very difficult for me to say that I already understand Shanghai's situation clearly. However, it is now basically understood.

The deputies said: The comments on this point from the municipal residents we have met are fairly good.

Mayor Jiang continued: What kind of Shanghai would be built? This is the question always in the minds of the municipal party committee and the municipal leadership including myself. After our investigations and study and based on the work of the former leadership, we have directed our efforts mainly to the work on "three blueprints," namely, the formulation and implementation of "strategy for the economic development of Shanghai," the revision of "Shanghai's overall municipal plan," and the formulation of "strategy for Shanghai's cultural development." As a result, we have a clearer orientation of Shanghai's development.

Mayor Jiang said: Promoting production is an important task for me as the mayor. Early this year, there was a drastic drop in the rate of Shanghai's industrial growth. We have made great efforts in production, and thanks to the efforts in several quarters, the minus sign did not appear in the growth rate during the first quarter. The situation of production is now fairly good. The total value of industrial output is estimated to be about 7 percent higher than in the same month last year.

Another important matter of concern to the mayor is the people's livelihood. Major Jiang cited an example: Last year, shortly after my arrival, we had

several heavy rains in quick succession, and the vegetable seedlings were washed away. There was a shortage of vegetables and the people had many complaints. My wife and I went to buy vegetables in the market and saw several old ladies with basket in hand and grumbling as they walked along. I felt very bad about it. After some study, the municipal government worked out some preferential policies to encourage vegetable growers, and at the same time adopted other measures to alleviate the "difficulty in obtaining vegetables."

The mayor then cited another example: On the eve of spring festival this year, as reported by the department concerned, a vinegar plant could not operate because of a power outage, and did not have much vinegar in stock. I thought that although Shanghai people do not consume as much vinegar as Shanxi people do, it would be hard for them to be without vinegar for their sweet sour fish, sweet sour pork and dumplings during the spring festival. Should this produce some psychological effect and make the people's worry about salt or soy-bean sauce, the spring festival would be spent without joy. After receiving this report, I immediately phoned a responsible person of Huadong Electric Power Administration Bureau and requested him to restore the supply of power to the vinegar plant at once, and to let me know the result. Very soon, the bureau solved the vinegar plant's power problem.

Mayor Jiang continued: As for people's livelihood, the municipal government has made great efforts on 15 tasks, which should be completed this year, provided the plans proceed smoothly. The deputies believed that these 15 tasks would serve as an important criterion for the evaluation of the municipal government's performance this year. In the future, if some real work concerning people's livelihood can be accomplished every year, it will eventually bring about a tremendous change in Shanghai.

#### Why Is Municipal Construction in Shanghai Fairly Slow

The deputies pointed out that, as people have universally commented, municipal construction in Shanghai is somewhat slower than in other provinces and municipalities. Why?

The mayor said: It is true that Shanghai is slower in municipal construction, and we have figures to show it.

What is the "crucial reason"? In the past, Shanghai was divided into foreign settlements. The layout was disorderly and the municipal utilities were not organized under one system. For example, the grades of power voltage and the diameters of pipes are different, and even the trolley power lines were not connected. For a long time after liberation, we one-sidedly stressed its role as an industrial base and overlooked the multiple roles of cities. Each year, the per capita investment in infrastructure, housing and other nonproductive projects in Shanghai was only half of that of other large cities in the country. Of course, there are many causes of Shanghai's slow municipal construction. Aside from the objective causes, there are also subjective ones. For a long time, Shanghai did not have any long-range overall plan, the concept of comprehensive development in housing was weak, and the principle of auxiliary construction projects was not firmly upheld.

## Gratifying Prospect of Shanghai's Municipal Construction

Mayor Jiang said: One source of gratification is that the Party Central Committee and the State Council are aware of Shanghai's difficulties, and beginning this year, the portion of financial income to be turned over to the state by Shanghai has been reduced from 86 percent to just over 76 percent. Furthermore, Shanghai is granted loans in foreign exchange up to a certain amount and the power to use them.

Mayor Jiang also gave a list of inspiring figures.

The deputies believed in a promising prospect. However, there is the time element to consider. They hoped the plans would soon materialize.

Mayor Jiang said: Everyone is well intentioned, hoping that Shanghai will soon prosper. In any undertaking, the time element must be considered. We will certainly endeavor to realize our plans as soon as possible. As for the time element, we must also remember the proverb "more haste, less speed."

## Mayor's Vexations

The deputies wanted to hear about the mayor's vexations.

The mayor frankly said: What vexes me most is that in view of the many fast emerging innovations, the time to learn about them is too little. First, the task of receiving foreign guests is very arduous. All foreign dignitaries must be received by me in person. Second, the leading comrades coming here to establish lateral economic ties must also be warmly received. Then there are wartime buddies and old school mates coming to visit me. Can I possibly refuse to meet them? These activities take a lot of my time. According to my present schedule, I have to attend meetings, receive guests, and visit basic-level units in the morning and the afternoon; and to read documents in my office generally from 9 to 12 o'clock at night. Recently, the mayors of Karachi, Chicago, and (Goteborg) and I exchanged views on this vexation. They also have similar experiences.

The deputies said with concern: This situation cannot last indefinitely. Two days ago, we read the news in RENMIN RIBAO that the leading comrades in Hangzhou and Zhejiang, had reduced their social activities in order to find more time for actual work. We consider this very good. We frequently read press reports of municipal leaders attending to opening ceremonies, cutting ribbons, and similar activities. Can these activities be reduced so that more time can be spent in actual work?

Mayor Jiang said: This is really a perplexing problem. The activities of attending opening ceremonies and cutting ribbons are now too many. Once, I wrote on an invitation card: Are opening ceremonies and ribbon cutting absolutely necessary for some events?

The deputies said that this is a matter of concept. According to this concept, people generally feel that the presence of a mayor would lend prestige and glory to the occasion. This concept must be abolished.

#### Deputies' Proposal

Knowing the mayor's vexations, the deputies made the following proposal: The mayor should strengthen the administration, break down the responsibility so that there will be a distinctive responsibility system at every level. All departments should exercise their own functions, and all matters that can be handled by the functional departments should not be dumped on the mayor. All functional departments should speed up their work, raise their efficiency, and at the same time set up a joint working system. The leading cadres should increase their contacts. If any matter can be settled in a face-to-face talk or telephone conversation, there should be no exchange of documents.

Mayor Jiang held that this proposal was right to the point. He is now attempting to improve the work style and efficiency in government offices, he is preparing to formulate certain specific rules, and setting up a system to ensure success.

Finally, the deputies expressed their gratification with the mayor's talk. The government has done a great deal of work to transform and invigorate Shanghai. However, there are still many problems which cannot be solved overnight. Under such circumstances, the city residents should wholeheartedly support the mayor, maintain close contact with the government, and make a joint effort to accelerate Shanghai's transformation and vigorous development.

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## ZHEJIANG CYL ORGANIZATIONAL WORK DISCUSSED

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 13 Nov 86 p 2

[Article by correspondent Quan Lilao [0356 4539 0525]: "In the Course of Rural Party Rectification, Zhejiang Strengthens Buildup of CYL Organization; Over 20,000 CYL Branches Are Organizationally Perfected and Invigorated"]

[Excerpts] In the course of its rural party rectification, Zhejiang Province made an earnest effort to adjust and build up the basic level organization of its CYL. In the past 4 months, CYL membership grew by 170,000 new members, as many as 10,000 fine young people joined the party, 200,000 were trained as CYL team leader and higher ranking cadres, and throughout the province, 85 percent of the CYL branches rank first or second class.

Zhejiang's provincial party committee and party committees at all levels attach great importance to the promotion of CYL buildup in the course of party rectification. The leadership of the provincial party committee emphasized this task during a province-wide telephone conference, and party rectification offices at the various localities, one after the other, endorsed and transmitted reports on CYL buildup during party rectification. Several tens of thousands party rectification liaison persons went to stay in the villages and made earnest efforts to promote CYL buildup at the grassroots. Over half of the full-time CYL cadres involved themselves intensively in the work of guiding rural party branches. Several hundred university students, returning to the villages on summer vacation, also helped promote the CYL buildup, with the result that over 20,000 rural CYL branches were organizationally perfected and imbued with increased vitality.

In the last few years, over 60 percent of the rural youths in Zhejiang Province entered village or township enterprises, left their native places to engage in business, or contracted for engineering work, which brought new tasks to rural CYL work. The current promotion of CYL buildup during party rectification directs its attention to the establishment of a complete CYL organization among village and township enterprises, household industries, joint youth undertakings, and youths away from their native places.

The current promotion of CYL buildup during party rectification directs much attention also to the development of groups of youths of outstanding character and special skills, making them cadres in the CYL. After its consolidation, the CYL organization generally emphasizes its service function, to bring prosperity, happiness, and full personal development to all rural youths. Since the start of this year, up to 1 million youths received training in various useful skills, and the young peasants gained increased competitive consciousness and competitive abilities in the commodity economy, while the CYL organization itself gained much in prestige.

## NUMBER OF INTELLECTUALS ADMITTED TO PARTY INCREASES

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Yue Zudan [1471 4809 0030]: "Many Outstanding Intellectuals Were Admitted for Party Membership in Guangdong"]

[Text] The party organizations at all levels in Guangdong have actively carried out their training and education of intellectuals, and many outstanding ones have been admitted to the party. In the past 3 years, more than 71,500 new members with university or secondary vocational school background were admitted. They accounted for 40 percent of all the new members admitted in the same period.

Party committee leaders at all levels have personally attended to their admission, and included this item in the party committee meeting agenda. The leading comrades of the Provincial Party Committee also took a personal interest in the problems which may concern the admission of influential and well-known intellectuals. The Provincial Party Committee Staff Office has on different occasions approved the "Views on the Development of Party Membership by Increasing the Number of Middle-age Intellectuals," "Report on the Work of Recruiting Party Members from the Ranks of Intellectuals" and other documents initiated by the organization department of the Provincial Party Committee. The organization departments at all levels treated the admission of outstanding intellectuals as an important task. The organization department of the Provincial Party Committee regularly issued circulars citing typical examples, both positive and negative, of the admission of intellectuals, and commanding the secretaries of the municipal, prefectoral and county party committees and of the basic-level party branches for their good work in this respect. In the first half of last year, two work teams were organized to conduct investigations in various places to follow up this task.

The municipal, prefectoral and county parties have taken a series of measures for admitting intellectual to the party. Meixian Prefectural Party Committee, for example, arranged for all county, municipal and other organs directly under the prefecture to conduct a comprehensive check on the number of applicants for party members, and to register their names. Then 6 inspections were conducted on this work and 8 report meetings, attended by the organization department chiefs (or group chiefs) of the county and municipal party committees and the political work section chiefs of the organs directly

under the prefecture, were held to review and popularize the typical experiences of more than 20 units. Thus the social mood of respecting knowledge and intellectual was initially formed and many outstanding intellectuals became party members. The culture and education sector of Gongyuan District in Shantou Municipality did not have a single new party member before 1984. In May of the same year, after the organization of the general party branch of the culture and education bureau, the party members were organized to study the documents relating to the admission of intellectuals. Then in less than 2 years, 85 outstanding teachers were admitted.

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## MEETINGS DISCUSS '1 COUNTRY, 2 SYSTEMS'

## United Front Work Discussed

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by Ye Zhuxiang [0673 4591 4382]: "Success or Failure of 'One Country, Two Systems' Concept Hinges on United Front Work; As Pointed Out in Second Provincial Meeting for Discussion of United Front Theories"]

[Text] The Second Provincial Meeting for Discussion of United Front Theories ended yesterday after a session of 4 days. Guo Rongchang [6753 2837 2490], deputy secretary of the provincial party committee, spoke at the meeting yesterday afternoon.

The meeting was jointly held by the United Front Department and the Propaganda Department of the Provincial Party Committee, the Staff Office of Guangdong Provincial CPPCC, the provincial party school, the Academy of Social Sciences (Guangdong Branch), the Provincial Federation of Social Science Associations and some other units. A total of 78 papers were submitted to the meeting. The question of relationship between the United Front on the one hand and the "one country, two systems" concept and the open-door policy were also discussed at great length in the meeting.

Comrade Guo Rongchang said in his speech: The United Front of the new period has developed from the former coalition with the national bourgeoisie to a broader political coalition which now includes all socialist laborers, all patriots supporting socialism or the unification of the motherland, and all Taiwan Compatriots, Hong Kong-Macao compatriots, and overseas compatriots. United Front plays a special and important role in promoting the open-door policy and the "one country, two system" concept. The success or failure of this concept will be largely decided by application of united front work. This work is also of great significance in strengthening socialist democracy and in consolidating and improving party leadership.

Guo Rongchang continued: As pointed out by the Central Committee, united front work should be based on the country and oriented to Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, and the whole world. This is the new setup for united front work under new conditions, and marks an important development in the strategic thought behind this work. It is an extremely significant guideline. While

carefully attending to this work at home, we should also boldly develop it abroad.

On the question of democratic parties and groups, Guo Rongchang said: Democratic parties and groups have been all along members of a political coalition with the characteristics of a united front. They should not be treated as bourgeois political parties. We must be fully aware of the fundamental change in the status of the democratic parties and groups and the merits of China's political system in cooperating with many different parties, strengthen this cooperation under CPC leadership, and give full play to the role of democratic parties and groups in democratic consultation and mutual supervision. Guo Rongchang also called for active efforts in nationality and religious work.

Yang Yingbin [2799 2019 1755], vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC, attended the opening ceremony of meeting and made a speech.

A provincial united front research association was formed during the meeting, and Yang Li [2799 2535], Yang Yingbin, and Guo Qiaoran [6753 5062 3544] were elected honorary presidents, with Cheng Qun [6774 5028] as president.

#### Councillors To Play Great Role

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by Ke Zong [0344 0022] and Yuan Li [0337 2621]: "Councillors of Various Provinces Will Play a Great Role in Materialization of the 'One Country-Two Systems' Concept"]

[Text] Based on the new situation and new set up for united front work in the new period, the councillors of various provinces will play a great role in their advisory capacity and their participation in state affairs. This was the common view expressed in a symposium of representatives of councillors of several central-south provinces and municipalities which ended in Guangzhou yesterday.

The "Three Compatriots" Liaison Group of the Provincial Councillors Office is one of the advanced collectives of this year among the departments directly under the province. Zhang Boquan [1728 0130 2938], head of this office, gave an account of how Guangdong, on the basis of its proximity with Hong Kong and Macao and the huge number of friends and relatives abroad, has taken the initiative in forming extensive friendly ties as a contribution to the peaceful unification of the motherland. The participants discussed at great length the question of giving full play to the role of councilors.

Wu Qingtong [0702 1987 1749], head of the State Council Councillors Office, attended and spoke at the symposium. Zheng Qun [6774 5028], and He Baosong [0140 1405 2646], leaders of United Front Department under the provincial party committee also attended yesterday's meeting.

The meeting lasted 5 days. Besides those from Guangdong, Hunan, Hubei, Henan, Guangzhou and Wuhan of the central-south region, the heads of the provincial and municipal councillors offices of Sichuan, Shaanxi, Shanghai and Chongqing were also present.

## COMMENTARY ON SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION CAMPAIGN

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Nov 86 p 1

[Short Commentary: "Spiritual Civilization Should Prevail in Daily Lives; 'Friendship on Buses' Campaign Praised"]

[Text] The "friendship on buses" campaign, launched by Guangzhou's public buses on Route 5 and some units along this route, like a spring breeze, has brought warmth to the provincial capital. This is a source of gratification.

Passenger buses represent a corner of society, because on buses, we can witness human and social activities. Being concerned for one another, treating one another cordially, and rendering assistance gladly are originally the fine ethical traditions of China's laboring people. These virtues further developed under the socialist system in the 1950's, when the spirit of "one for all, and all for one" could be felt everywhere. On the public buses, people giving their seats willingly to the elderly and to small children and helping one another with great warmth were common sights. However, these normal human relationships were destroyed during the 10 years of turmoil, while uncivilized and bad manners as well as disregard for public morality continued to appear. The use of abusive language among the passengers or friction between passengers and the bus crew have sometimes even resulted in fist fights. From the buses, people can see the degeneration of social conduct. In the past several years, following the reforms, the open-door policy, the invigoration of economy, and the progress of spiritual civilization, social conduct has again gradually improved. In the buses, abusive language and friction are now less common, and fist fights are less frequent. Now the crew members of buses on Route 5, and the passenger representatives from some units along this route have taken the initiative of launching the "friendship on buses" campaign. This is a further evidence of our improved social conduct.

Of course, the cultivation of social conduct depends on the behavior of each individual. In other words, the improvement must begin with each individual himself and from right now. Everyone must cherish and practice it before this fine virtue may prevail. Everyone of us can be a bus passenger. Then let us ask ourselves: Have I brought friendship onto the bus? Developing socialist spiritual civilization of a high degree is one of China's strategic tasks. "A 1,000-li journey begins from where you now stand." The development of

spiritual civilization, likewise, begins with "minor matters" in daily lives. To accelerate the development of spiritual civilization, it is necessary for all trades and undertakings to set their own distinctive goals. Therefore, we hope everyone will take part in this "friendship on buses" campaign and let the new breeze of civilization, courtesy, harmony and friendship blow over the vast territory of Guangdong!

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## SHEKOU ENTERPRISE MANAGERS' AUTHORITY DISCUSSED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by Fang Xiyuan [2075 6007 5373]: "How To Help Managers in the Efficient Use of Delegated Authority--Shoukou Industrial District Supervises Enterprise Leadership in Three Different Ways"]

[Text] After the separation between government administration and enterprise management, how can we, guarantee that the enterprise leaders will have full power in their business operations while ensuring a correct business orientation for the enterprise or prevent their abuse of power? On this question, Shekou Industrial District has adopted some reform measures whereby the enterprise leaders will be supervised by the organization, the people and the press.

Since the separation between government administration and enterprise management in Shekou Industrial District, the decisionmaking power of more than 20 state-owned companies directly under the industrial district administration committee has been greatly increased and the company managers now have personnel and financial powers. They are not only able to organize their own leading bodies and to hire or fire the workers, but also free to use their retained profits for investment in joint ventures with foreign traders. At the same time, to ensure that the enterprises' business orientation is compatible with social macroeconomic interests and the party's line and policies, and that the enterprise leaders will fulfill their duties and serve the public faithfully, the industrial district administration committee has also carried out some supplementary reform for supervision on these enterprises to be exercised in three different ways.

First, organizational supervision. This supervision is to be exercised by the organization cadres department of the industrial district party committee. This department formulated a complete set of rules concerning the duties of cadres at various levels, and sent a printed form to every company each month. The manager is required to answer two questions included in the form: What have you done this month? What do you plan to do next month? After the return of the completed form, the department would dispatch somebody to verify the information contained in it with the help of other people before filing this form. On the expiration of the manager's term of office, a review of these forms would show whether the manager had been enthusiastic in reform,

efficient in management, and outstanding in performance, and whether he was flashy without substance, and of the mediocre or crooked type. Those of the former category would remain in office for another term, while those of the latter category would be warned or dismissed.

Second, mass supervision. A poll is to be held during the manager's term of office, and the result will be used by the industrial district administration committee in deciding on the retention of his services for another term. If he is unpopular and has a two-third vote of nonconfidence, the manager is liable to immediate dismissal.

Third, supervision through the press. In SHEKOU INFORMATION JOURNAL, anyone, either an ordinary person or a cadre, can express his views on any enterprise leader, and criticize or discuss his business policy or work style. These views also serve as referent in the appointment of managers.

Because of the supervision from these three sources, the enterprise managers in Shekou Industrial District, though wielding great decisionmaking power, have, nevertheless, to be very careful in using it. Corruption, abuse of authority, and illegal dealings are now very rare, and the quality of enterprise cadres has been much improved.

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## TIANJIN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS DEPUTIES EVALUATE GOVERNMENT

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by Tianjin correspondent Wang Lihua [3769 5461 5478]: "The Standing Committee of the Tianjin People's Congress Established a System of Discussion Meetings With People's Congress Deputies; People's Congress to Exercise Right of Supervision and Evaluation of Government Performance; Mayor Li Ruihuan [2621 3843 3883] and Members of the Municipal Government To Hear Opinions from Deputies, Improve Performance"]

[Text] Tianjin correspondent Wang Lihua reported to our editorial department that the Standing Committee of the Tianjin People's Congress established a system of discussion meetings with People's Congress deputies, to have the People's Congress exercise the right of supervision and evaluation of government performance, and that the results were very good. Our editor Zhang Muxun [1728 1970 8113] telephoned our correspondent on 13 November to enquire further on certain details.

Question: We hear that the Tianjin People's Congress deputies have had a discussion meeting with members of the Tianjin Municipal Government evaluating the performance of the government. Will you please tell us more specific details.

Answer: Good. The discussion meeting took place on 1 November. These discussion meetings were started in 1983; they are held once a year, and have become an institution. This year's was the fourth meeting.

Question: How did the discussion meeting go?

Answer: Quite lively! In a word, everyone was speaking out freely. Apart from approving the performance of the municipal government, the deputies presented opinions and suggestions, and the mayor and members of the government replied to questions. Some questions were bargained out on the spot, some were settled on the spot, and some were retained for further study with the promise of providing the deputies with an answer within 1 month. The atmosphere was relaxed and harmonious.

Question: What were specific opinions and suggestions put forward by the deputies?

Answer: There were indeed quite a number of opinions and suggestions, some on policy decisions and some on specific items. For instance, Li Zhanying [2621 0594 5391], deputy from Baodi County, criticized that the relevant department could not provide sufficient chemical fertilizer, so that the county was forced to spend foreign exchange on chemical fertilizer imports. Mayor Li Ruihuan immediately accepted the criticism and admitted that this fault in construction planning had been occurring for several years. We understand, the municipal government decided to start immediately planning construction of a chemical fertilizer plant. Ma Youhang [7456 1635 5300], deputy of the People's Congress and deputy chief of the Tianjin Branch Railway Safety Bureau, suggested improvements in the performance of the "window" units to be handled as an important part of the entire municipality's development of spiritual civilization, thereby achieving a completely new service quality at all "window" units in the municipality. Mayor Li Ruihuan expressed that this was a good suggestion. As I now understand, the municipal government arranged immediately after the discussion meeting for a relevant unit to draft provisions for the development of spiritual civilization in "window" units, also to organize competitions among these units, to spur on other units. Cui Yongzhen [1508 3057 3791], deputy of the People's Congress and head of the Shenzhuangzi suboffice in the Hedong district of Tianjin, brought up this year's plan to build an elementary school at Dawangzhuang, which was delayed by the unsettled case of a coal yard occupying the land in question. A responsible official of the municipal government agreed to settle this matter immediately. By now the problem has been resolved; the relevant office found another piece of land for the coal yard.

Question: Were previous discussion meetings held with equal enthusiasm?

Answer: They were all good. In the 4 years, the deputies really presented many questions and suggestions, altogether 602 cases. We may truly say, the municipal people's congress did indeed exercise its right of participation in government and of presenting its views to government.

Question: Can these opinions represent the electorate?

Answer: Prior to each discussion meeting, the deputies solicit opinions from their electorate, and examine and study particular questions in conscientious preparation for presentation. We may say that these discussion meetings indeed represent the electorate on a broad scale. Not only do they carry out supervision and evaluation of government performance, but they also provide backing for correct policy decisions of the government.

Question: Some say that these discussion meetings are mere "dialogues" between the deputies and the municipal government; what are the views of the parties?

Answer: The responsible comrades of the People's Congress Standing Committee regard the relationship between the congress deputies and the members of the municipal government as one between the representatives of the "master" and of

"public servants." These discussion meetings, participated in by members of the government, are a way in which the People's Congress exercises its very own right to supervise government and to evaluate the performance of the government. To speak of it as a mere "dialogue" is not exactly correct.

Question: How do the citizens of Tianjin react to the discussion meetings?

Answer: As we understood, the reaction is very good. Everybody believes that the discussion meetings are a pattern that allows the People's Congress deputies to participate in government, to present opinions to government, and to carry out the people's supervision of government. It is a gratifying move in the spirit of the constitution toward perfecting the democratic legal system. The citizens hope that the discussion meetings of the People's Congress will carry forward the democratic spirit to even greater perfection.

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## BRIEFS

JUVENILE DELINQUENT GIVEN DEATH SENTENCE--An article in Shenyang SHENYANG RIBAO in Chinese, 19 December 1986 page 1, reports that capital punishment was imposed on a middle school student for killing a fellow student in a brawl involving other students. Deng Wenfei, the 16-year-old defendant, was described in the newspaper as a criminal who deserved the punishment for his wrongdoing. The victim, Li Zhenggao, a middle school student of the 23rd Municipal School, was posthumously given a citation by the municipal party and government organs as a model student who lost his life trying to stop the brawl. Deng's death sentence was deferred for 2 years. [Editorial Report]

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

PAP URUMQI COMMAND SCHOOL--The People's Armed Police [PAP] Urumqi Command School is a newly established school with the primary task of training entry-level PAP commanders. It has rather complete practice facilities and more than 20,000 library books. Specialties offered are internal security, border defense, fire fighting, and logistics, and there is a minority troop unit. A total of 17 courses are offered which are now equivalent to mid-level technical schools. Students come from north and south of the Tian Shan. In July 1986, the first graduating class of 226 students was sent throughout Xinjiang to the frontline of security work. The future of the PAP Urumqi Command School will follow the rapid modernization of the PAP, taking advantage of reforms and unceasingly improving equipment. It will gradually become a base for training excellent commanders, produce much talent and many results, and be a leader in providing top-notch schooling. [Text] [Urumqi XINJIANG HUABAO in Chinese No 6, 25 Nov 86 p 26]

JILIN RESERVE DIVISION--The Yanbian ground forces reserve division has compiled and published a "Handbook for Reserves" consisting of more than 100 items divided into study of military service law, general knowledge for reserves, and data on foreign reserves. [Text] [Shenyang DONGBEI MINBING in Chinese No 11, 4 Nov 86 p 28]

DALIAN NAVAL RESERVE DIVISION--The Dalian naval reserve AAA division, after 25 years of intense training, attained excellent results in all of its 57mm live firings. [Text] [Shenyang DONGBEI MINBING in Chinese No 10, 4 Oct 86 p 21]

SHENYANG LEVEE REPAIRED--On 6 August, the Shenyang Military Subdistrict received an urgent call for assistance in repairing a broken levee which threatened to flood. A demolition team led by MSD Commander Guo Baitong [6753 2672 2717], Political Commissar Liu Shensi [0491 1957 1835], Deputy Commander Huang Weiliang [7806 4850 0081], and Chief-of-staff Sui Fuxian [7131 4395 0341] succeeded in carrying out the repairs in time. [Summary] [Shenyang DONGBEI MINBING in Chinese No 10, 4 Oct 86 p 9]

LIAONING MD LEADERS--Liaoning Military District Deputy Commander Nan Qixiang [0589 0796 4382] led organizational cadres in an inspection of flooding in Liaozhong and Taian counties. Together with the militia and masses they studied combating flooding and self-rescue. [Text] [Shenyang DONGBEI MINBING in Chinese No 10, 4 Oct 86 p 12] After People's Armed Forces Departments

[PAFD] were shifted back to the locales, Liaoning Military District Deputy Political Commissar Gao Xiasheng [7559 0204 3932] and other leaders came to Xingcheng Xian to visit PAFD cadres, presenting them with a clock and encouraging them to uphold military traditions and make new contributions. [Text] [Shenyang DONGBEI MINBING in Chinese No 10, 4 Oct 86 p 21]

AIR FORCE PARATROOP RESCUE UNIT--A group of young soldiers who recently joined a newly-formed paratroop rescue personnel training unit have received specialized training. They will become the PLA Air Force's first generation of regularly trained paratroop rescue personnel. [Text] [Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 20 Dec 86 p 1]

NANJING NAVAL HOSPITAL--Naval Hospital 414, situated below Shizi Shan, Nanjing, has built the Navy's first comprehensive medical treatment training building which was completed yesterday. This hospital has treated more than 180,000 patients this year, of which more than 92 percent were civilians from the locale. The newly-built treatment building has 17 specialty clinics and 343 beds. Hospital rooms have been made "homey" to create a comfortable, peaceful environment for the patients. [Text] [Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 2 Dec 86 p 1]

JIANGSU-NANJING INFORMATION BANK--Yesterday the Jiangsu-Nanjing National Defense Industry Technical Market Information Bank was established. It is formed from national defense, state enterprise, and scientific research organizations in Jiangsu and Nanjing. Its mission is to facilitate the transfer of military technology to the civilian sector, develop lateral technical exchanges between the locales and enterprises, and supply all types of technical information. [Text] [Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 23 Dec 86 p 1]

NANJING CIVIL DEFENSE PROJECTS--The Nanjing Military Region Civil Defense Committee recently commended 27 outstanding Anhui civil defense projects for uniting peacetime and wartime work. They are: Hefei City Civil Defense Command Post, Hefei municipal party committee underground conference room, underground hospital of the Anhui provincial hospitals, Anhui Power Bureau underground control room, Wuhu underground market place, Wuhu City Jiangnan Hotel, underground hospital of the Bangbu 1st People's Hospital, Huainan Mining Bureau underground prefabricated concrete factory, Magang underground Youth Center, and the Gangling underground amusement center. Civil defense work has shifted from being closed to being open, its lateral economic ties are broad, and it has become more viable. [Text] [Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 15 Dec 86 p 4]

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TAIWAN

KUOMINTANG FINANCIAL RESOURCES ANALYZED

Taipei NUAN LIU [WARM CURRENT] in Chinese No 116, 1 Jun 86 pp 26-30

[Article by Zhou Yuxian [6650 3768 6343]: "Open and Secret Ways for the 'Party' to Dip Into the 'National' Treasury"]

[Excerpts] The Kuomintang, a party with more than 10,000 full-time party workers and 1.5 million members, spends between 600 and 700 million yuan each month for personnel and operational expenses alone in normal times when the party is not mobilized for any special action. For an event like the party's third plenum, entertainment, transportation and overtime work alone cost a conservatively estimated 200 million yuan. Party organizations at various levels have to be subsidized for such activities as their self-improvement campaign. In the event of an election, during which the party must be mobilized to campaign for its candidates, provide publicity materials and even directly give money to buy votes, the expenses may exceed 1 billion yuan.

The party is big, and its financial burden is heavy, but the really serious question is the source of its revenue.

Ordinarily the party's coffer is connected secretly to the national treasury by three conduits: 1. The party invests in publicly owned enterprises, uses its special power in government to make sure that the enterprises are profitable, and earns "legitimate" dividends on its shares.

The Central Investment Corporation, under the Kuomintang Central Finance Committee, with assets totalling some 10 billion yuan, owns specially approved "popular shares" of various publicly owned banking and service institutions.

In the financial field, the Central Investment Corporation, which a few years ago could only make and never lose money, owns 10 percent of the stock of the China International Commercial Bank (twice that owned by the Central Trust of China). Normally it is guaranteed a profit from differences between interest rates. Since the China International Commercial Bank was granted a special permit by the Central Bank of China to deal in foreign exchange transactions and keep its U.S. dollar earnings, it has been able for a time to speculate in money markets abroad. In the last

year and a half, the dollar's value has dropped sharply, and the bank has also suffered losses. However, the Central Investment Corporation has long since earned back what it invested in the China International Commercial Bank.

The China Farmers Bank, another bank dealing in foreign exchange, is at present the bank which issues documentary bills in foreign exchange for military imports and exports. In the past 5 years, this "specialized agricultural bank" has handled an average of more than NT\$60 billion worth of foreign exchange transactions each year, far greater than the total amount of its deposit and loan operations. Only about 6 percent of the bank's stock are popular shares, and how much of the popular shares is owned by the Central Investment Corporation is a secret. However, the persons in charge of the bank's foreign exchange operations are either assigned by the military or decided by the Kuomintang finance committee.

Besides getting involved in banking, the Kuomintang also controls Taiwan's securities and money markets through investments made by the Hsing Hua Corporation or the Central Investment Corporation, both under the party's finance committee, in such firms as the Chung Hsing Securities Corporation, the Chung Hua Securities Corporation, the Chung Lien Trust and Investment Corporation and the Fu Hua Securities and Finance Corporation. For example, the Hsing Hua Corporation holds more than 40 percent of the stock of the Fu Hua Securities and Finance Corporation.

All these corporations are capitalized by Kuomintang-owned enterprises jointly with state enterprises under the Ministry of Economic Affairs or publicly owned banks under the Ministry of Finance. The major business of these finance and securities corporations is to obtain funds from state financing and banking institutions at low interests and make loans to ordinary private business concerns at high interest rates.

In the field of service industries, the Kuomintang's main device to profit itself is to secure exclusive right to operate for party-owned enterprises by way of special government permissions.

The most brazen example of the Kuomintang's manipulation in this field is in the middle- and lower-level marketing of liquefied petroleum gas and natural gas. Liquefied petroleum gas was originally marketed by the China Petroleum Corporation. Later, the Kuomintang transferred the general distributorship to the party-owned Yu Tai Corporation. In 1970, it was taken over by the Jui Hua Corporation, which was set up with investment directly from the Central Investment Corporation. At the same time, the Jui Hua Corporation also took over the marketing of natural gas. In 1974 or thereabout, Kang Ning-hsiang [1660 1380 4382] and others raised strong interpellations in the Legislative Yuan regarding the Jui Hua Corporation's exclusive right to market liquefied petroleum gas. With annual sales of 450,000 metric tons at 1 yuan per kilogram, the corporation was making a huge profit of 450 million yuan a year. On the defensive, the Kuomintang then moved the general distributorship to the Gas Department under the Executive Yuan's Vocational Assistance Commission for Retired Servicemen (VACRS). But it was only a change in name. Most of the same Jui Hua

Corporation employees now worked at the VACRS Gas Department, and the Kuomintang continued to hide the truth about the department's cost and financial management from the public. As to natural gas, the Jui Hua Corporation remains the general distributor. Branches are set up jointly by the corporation and local Kuomintang cadres. High-ranking military officers recommended by VACRS become board chairmen and presidents of these branch corporations. Despite the changes, hundreds of millions of yuan in profits still end up in Kuomintang's coffers.

2. The party uses its power in the administration to help certain firms obtain preferential treatment in business, and these firms will do something in return for party-owned enterprises.

With all the power it wields, the Kuomintang can manipulate the government to favor its own enterprises at will. However, with the exception of the banks, securities firms and gas distributorships mentioned previously, which are like free gifts, the Kuomintang does not seem to have the competence needed in real business management in any field. Therefore, it opens another conduit, giving special permission for some firms to develop new businesses, expecting them to return the favor.

The most obvious example are the huge quantities of commodity imports. The Kuomintang's agricultural development in Taiwan in the past 30 years and more has resulted only in some technical improvements, and land is still used mainly for rice production. There has been no major breakthrough in other grains and crops. This, of course, is partly due to geographic limitations and traditional factors. The major reason, however, is that the Kuomintang needs to import large quantities of grains to offset the trade surplus with the United States and reduce American protectionist pressures.

A lot of money can be made from these imports. In the early period of the development of Taiwan's livestock industry, the Kuomintang allowed importers freedom in feed procurements. Later, as demands grew, the Kuomintang itself moved into the import business. It authorized the corn, wheat and other grain import associations to adopt a quota system designed to protect certain privileged importers. These importers can at least use their quotas to make money. The more resourceful can on the one hand take advantage of low-interest loans and on the other hand engage as side lines in feed-processing, hog-raising, chicken-raising, import and export, transportation and other related industries.

"There is no free lunch in the world." Having helped these importers make money, the Kuomintang naturally wants to share the "booty." Hence the formation of the joint shopping delegations in coordination with the Kuomintang's efforts to win support from U.S. senators and congressmen from agricultural regions. There are also political fund contributions. The Kuomintang wants more, however. It wants the Chung Hua Trading Corporation, a totally mismanaged firm backed by the Central Investment Corporation, to provide import and transport services.

This privileged firm was nearly 10 billion yuan in debt when it obtained interest-free loans from two banks recently. When it was first set up, its main business was to take over the imports of industrial raw materials and large quantities of grains then handled by the Taiwan Provincial Supply Bureau. The purpose was to shift the guaranteed profit from the government organization to the party. It was unexpected that the party workers are even worse than the government employees, and the firm is being pressed by banks for payment on nearly 10 billion yuan of funds borrowed.

At present, this party-owned corporation's second trade section is engaged in gold, corn and wheat imports. Its first trade section was for a time running the Ching Tien duty-free store at the Chung Cheng International Airport. Its third trade section imports scrap metals, iron and parts, which have caused serious pollution problems, and sometimes handles munitions transport jobs. There are more than 6,000 other trading companies in Taiwan, but hardly any of them is assured of such good business as the Chung Hua Trading Corporation. The question is, without the Kuomintang's backing, can the corporation survive?

### 3. Subsidies for Kuomintang-owned enterprises are arbitrarily included in the national budget in the name of performing public services.

The most commonly included party enterprises in the central government's overall budget are the Central News Agency, the CHUNG YANG JIH PAO [CENTRAL DAILY NEWS] overseas edition, the China Broadcasting Corporation, the Youth League and the China Airlines. At least 1 billion yuan of public funds is budgeted each year as subsidies to these enterprises. For example, in FY 1985, the budget included a 247,847,000 yuan subsidy for the Central News Agency under foreign affairs, and in FY 1984, it was 236,560,000 yuan. Besides personnel costs, the money was used for: six cars for news gathering, fees for international dispatches, six typewriters, one copying machine, 1.15 million yuan for lighting equipment in the Central News Agency's office building, 1 million yuan for broadcasting services, 560,000 yuan for computer processing of XINHUA telephoto transmissions, 350,000 yuan for two fast facsimile transmitters, 1.3 million yuan for an AP portable facsimile transmitter, and 2.41 million yuan for transmission of news at home and abroad through the diplomatic computer.

Under the Government Information Office, some 300-400 million yuan is budgeted each year for the China Broadcasting Corporation's Overseas Department, and nearly 100 million yuan was budgeted for the CHUNG YANG JIH PAO overseas edition in 1986. Under the Ministry of Education, about 50 million yuan is budgeted each year for the Youth League. Nearly 2.5 billion yuan has been taken from the national treasury in the past 5 years to subsidize the China Airlines for the purchase of an aircraft maintenance hangar at the Chung Cheng Airport at a high price, the opening of new routes, and so forth.

These party-owned businesses appear like private enterprises and each year squeeze a lot of money out of the public coffers. They are protected from censure by the legislative organs by people like Lin Yu-hsiang [2651 6877 4382], a member of the Legislative Yuan.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs brags unblushingly that Central News Agency reporters have the added task of gathering information and, therefore, should be subsidized. The Ministry of Communications says that the China Airlines is the only international airline company bearing the blue-sky-bright-sun-red-ground national flag, and should receive financial support from the national treasury.

In fact, the Kuomintang not only unashamedly manipulates the overall national budget, but does the same at the local level. Subsidies budgeted each year by the Taipei Municipal Government for the CHUNG HUA JIH PAO [CHINA DAILY NEWS] and the CHING NIEN CHAN SHIH PAO [YOUNG WARRIORS DAILY], and subsidies paid to the people's service stations by the county and city governments are all examples of how the Kuomintang fattens its own coffer with public funds in the name of performing public services.

All the three conduits with which the Kuomintang helps itself with public funds are possible because there is basically no effective supervision against its misuse of administrative authority.

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